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[TITLE PAGE]

Political Systems Of Pastoral Tuareg In Air And Ahaggar.

By JOHANNES NICOLAISEN

101 The Tuareg are Berber-speaking, nomadic stock-breeders who live in an extensive
 131 area of the Western Sahara and adjacent regions of the Sudan. The territory
 165 dominated by the Tuareg lies between 14° and 30° North Latitude and between
 5° West Longitude and 10° East Longitude. They fall into seven main groups or
 major political units (fig. 1) comprising 240,000-300,000 individuals, their negro
 slaves excluded. The two northernmost groups (the Kel Ahaggar and the Kel
 Ajjer) live in the true desert country and number less than 10,000 or about 3%
 of all Tuareg. In Ahaggar the number according to statistics of 1950 is 4,611. The
 Air Tuareg further south are more numerous and seem to comprise more than
 20,000 individuals (cf. Lhote 1947, p. 15f. & 1955, p. 157).

114 This study of Tuareg political systems has as its foundation a part of my own
 field material collected in 1951 (in Ahaggar), 1952 (in Tassili-n-Ajjer), 1953 (in
 Ahaggar), and 1954-55 (in Ahaggar including Ahnet, and in Air). I have spent
 about two years in these Tuareg countries living most of the time in Ahaggar and
 adjacent regions, while my stay further south in Air was limited to six months.

121 It is my intention here to describe the political systems of Air and Ahaggar,
 but as my final task is concerned with their origin I find it necessary to take up
 also more general aspects of Tuareg culture and the distribution of certain cultural
 127 traits. I shall make use also of Tuareg oral traditions and of the very comprehensive
 material on Tuareg history gathered by Arab historians and geographers of the
 Middle Ages. Thus I do not follow the ordinary lines of any particular anthropol-
 ological school.

000 I am much indebted to Dr. Birket-Smith (University of Copenhagen) from
 whom I acquired my general anthropological knowledge together with a keen
 interest in historical problems, and to Professor Daryll Forde and Dr. Phyllis
 Kaberry of the London University where I have learnt what I know about social
 anthropology. Dr. Phyllis Kaberry has taken a profound interest in my studies,
 and I feel grateful for her kind help and assistance in all matters concerning
 Tuareg political systems and Tuareg social structure in general.

122 My journeys among the Tuareg were carried out by means of grants from
 various Danish foundations, notably Statens Almindelige Videnskabsfond, Carls-
 berg Fondet, Knud Rasmussen Fondet, and Jens Lohmand Rasmussens Rejse-
 legat. During my last journey The University College London assigned me a grant
 without which I should not have been able to gather the material here presented

(P. 67)

on the Air Tuareg. I wish to express my sincere thanks to the above mentioned foundations and their directors. 122

For the transcription of Tuareg letters I have on the whole adopted Foucauld's system (cf. Foucauld 1930 & 1951-52):- 104
212

Tuareg Letters (Tifinag)	Transcription And Value in Arabic Letters	Notes
ⵎ	b ب	
ⵏ	ch ش	
ⵐ	d د	
ⵑ	g ج	Emphatic
ⵒ	r ر	
ⵓ	z	Hard
ⵔ	k	A peculiar soft pronunciation something between g, d, j, and l.
ⵕ	b ب	Aspirated
ⵖ	l ل	Used both as consonant and vowel at the end of a word. At the beginning and in the middle of a word only as consonant.
ⵗ	j	
ⵘ	h ه	
ⵙ	h ه	
ⵚ	th ت	Foucauld 1951-52 has the transcription h [114]
ⵛ	l ل	
ⵜ	m م	
ⵝ	n ن	
ⵞ	h ه	Foucauld 1930 does not mention this letter [114]
ⵟ	ou و	Consonant or vowel as for l mentioned above
ⵠ	r ر	

104 212	Tuareg Letters (Tifnagh)	Transcription And Value In Arabic Letters	Notes
	ⵓ	ر غ	Pronounced gutturally. Frequently transcribed as gh in literature.
	ⵓ	س	
	ⵓ	ت	
	ⵓ	ط	Emphatic
	ⵓ	ز	
	ⵓ	ز	Emphatic

128 For certain geographical names the mode of spelling is in accordance with that of the maps edited by Institut Géographique National. The pronunciation of vowels is not indicated. At the end of words the Tuareg sometimes indicate vowels with a dot, which may stand for any vowel.

Pastoral Ecology in Ahaggar and Air.

- [36] The Tuareg of the true desert country have their camps in or close to mountain massifs of which the more important are Ahaggar and Tassili-n-Ajjer. Geographically these two regions have many traits in common. In Ahaggar, which rises to 3000 metres above sea level, the annual precipitation according to official statistics is between 20 mm and 40 mm. These figures are extremely low, but more characteristic of the desert country is the irregularity of the rainfalls. In some years there may fall no rain at all, while in others precipitation is much bigger than appears from the figures above. Several dry years may follow each other alternating with periods of abundant rainfall. According to investigations by Dubiéfour years out of ten are so dry that rainfall is of no importance for the regeneration of pastures (Dubiéfour 1947, p. 7-23). Owing to the scarcity and the fluctuations of precipitation in Ahaggar a persistent vegetation cannot generally exist outside river valleys and depressions which are flooded during heavy rain. In the valleys perennial plants comprise not only grasses and herbs but also tall trees among which tamarisk and acacia are prominent. In dry years the perennial plants have little value as fodder for the domestic animals of the Tuareg. A great many goats may then die from hunger, and to avoid such a disaster some Tuareg take their flocks to the plains of Tamesna or to the Adrar-n-Iforas Mountains where rain is normally more plentiful and grazing better than in Ahaggar. However, even in dry years the majority of Ahaggar Tuareg will remain in their native country with their goat-flocks. For although they run the risk of losing a great many goats during a drought in Ahaggar

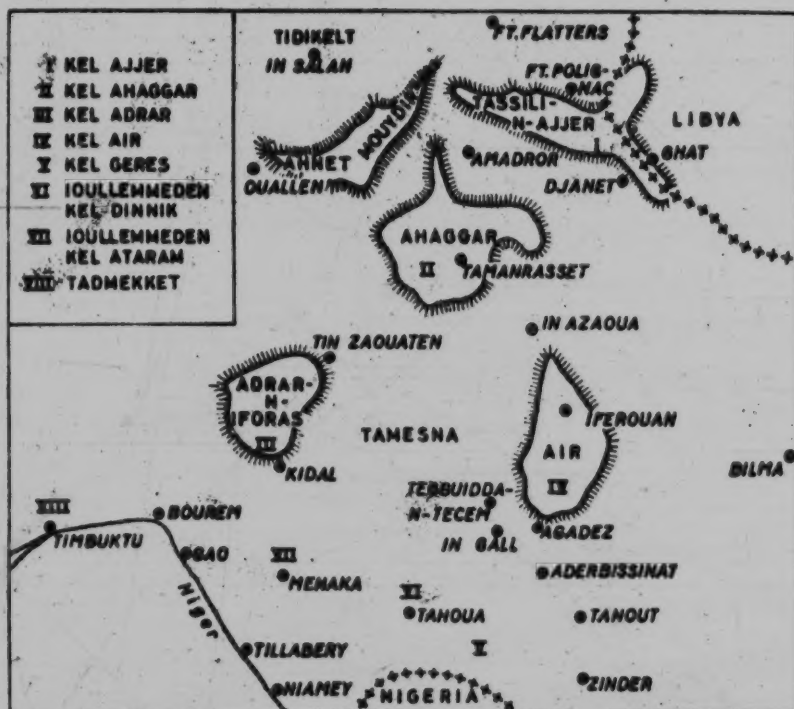


Fig. 1.—Map of the central parts of the Western Sahara and the adjacent Sudanese zone inhabited by the Tuareg, who fall into eight major political groups or federations. These groups as mentioned in the text are sub-divided into the politically very important drum-groups. The geographical position of the eight groups is roughly indicated by Roman numerals. — The Tadmekket Tuareg (VIII) from about A.D. 1800 were subjected to the Ioullemmeden Kel Ataram (VII) (cf.

¹Richer 1924, p. 96). Scale, 1 centimetre = 160 kilometres.

those surviving, although emaciated, will quickly recover as soon as the rainfall starts again. In addition it is often very difficult to take goats through the barren desert country south of Ahaggar without severe loss. With camels, which are also very important domestic animals, things are different. Camels make a great demand on fodder, they are very valuable, can be sold for rather high prices in the oases, and they have a very slow increment compared with goats. For these reasons it is necessary or desirable to keep herds of camels in the south when pastures are dry in Ahaggar, and camels can be taken through the barren desert country without much difficulty. In dry years many Ahaggar Tuareg have their camel-herds in Tamesna, about 300 kilometres from the camps in Ahaggar, and there are even nomads who keep their she-camels constantly in these regions, where the animals are guarded by herdsmen who are frequently slaves.

Ahaggar
Air

132 During drought periods the uttermost poverty is the lot of the Ahaggar Tuareg,
262 who must then rely almost exclusively on agricultural products for their nourish-
[234] ment. But in years of abundant rainfall they have much milk during the winter,
and they make butter and cheese to be used during the hot season when milk even
in good years is scarce. They then also have meat for their sustenance but this is
less important than milk-food.

137 In good years the perennial plants do not form the most important fodder of the
233 domestic animals. For heavy rainfall will as if by magic change the barren country
outside the valleys. An extremely rich vegetation of annual grasses and herbs
springs up, and these tender plants constitute the very best fodder. But as, owing
to the irregularity of the rainfall, annual pastures will not appear every year, it is
difficult to breed other animals than goats and camels to which can be added
donkeys used exclusively as beasts of burden and for riding. It is true that most
Ahaggar Tuareg have a few sheep but none of them have cows (zebus). Cow-
breeding and also effective sheep-breeding cannot be practised in a country like
Ahaggar where for a period of years there may be no pastures of annual plants.
In dry years the thorny acacias form the most important fodder of camels and
goats, but the leaves of these trees cannot be eaten by cows and only with great
difficulty by sheep.

132 In Ahaggar rain may fall at most seasons as the country is situated on the
frontier of two different rainfall belts, namely that of the Mediterranean where
rain occurs mainly in winter, and that of the Sudan where rain will fall late in
summer. For a long period of years rain has fallen most abundantly late in summer,
but according to Dubief this has not always been so. Not many years ago rainfall
was almost equally common at all seasons (Dubief 1947, p. 7-23), and Ahaggar
137 still has the characteristics of two distinct climatic zones, likewise as botanically it
belongs both to the Mediterranean and to the Sudan.

On my camel journey from Ahaggar to Air via the wells of In Ebeggi and In
[132] Azaoua in April 1955 I experienced a rapid change of climatical and botanical
conditions. At the outskirts of the southern slopes of the Ahaggar Mountains a
persistent vegetation is very scarce in the valleys, and between the two above-
mentioned wells there are practically no permanent plants. Broadly speaking the
[133] desert region between Ahaggar and Air is nothing but plains of gravel and stone
interspersed with rocks and hills. But a little scattered rain will occur even in these
[133] regions and gives rise to annual pastures which are utilized by passing caravans.
Otherwise the country is uninhabitable.

In the northernmost part of the Air massif acacias and tufts of perennial grasses
grow in most valleys as in the lower parts of the Ahaggar Mountains. But compared
with Ahaggar permanent vegetation is very rich and in places forms almost
impenetrable jungles of trees and brushwood. Further south in Air perennial plants
including trees are very common also outside the valleys, and the country south of
the massif very rapidly changes into a kind of steppe or open savannah. The com-

paratively rich vegetation of Air contains species found also in Ahaggar, but Ahaggar has Mediterranean plants including several saline species which do not thrive in Air, where there are tropical or Sudanese species unknown to Ahaggar. 137

Botanically Air is very closely connected with the Sudan, and the mountain massif is within the Sudanese zone of summer rain. It is true that rain at the northern outskirts of Air occasionally falls in winter and may then give rise to scattered pasture of annual plants, but these rains are of no real importance. The important rainfalls of Air occur in the period June-September, and particularly in July and August. As may be gathered from the description of botanical conditions, Air has a much bigger annual precipitation than has Ahaggar. Thus the village of Iferouan in Northern Air has 74 mm, while Agadez at the southern slopes of the massif has 179 mm. Precipitation will of course vary from one year to the other, but rain will always fall sufficiently for the spring of annual plants. This is the reason for a type of stock-breeding different from that of Ahaggar. In Air the Tuareg are richer in camels, they do not possess so many goats but are very rich in sheep, and most of them have zebu. 132 137 [233]

The climatic and botanical differences of Air and Ahaggar can be seen more directly from the division of the year into seasons (fig. 2). Air has a summer and a winter season between which there are two seasons termed *akasa* and *farat*. These two words as seasonal terms express the fact that rain and annual pastures in Air are recurrent events, as the word *akasa* literally means "green annual plants", and the word *farat* refers to "dry annual plants". Both words are known also to the Ahaggar Tuareg but are by them not applied as seasonal terms, for in their country rain will not occur every year and may fall at most seasons. 132 805

Conditions for stock-breeding are very much better in Air than in Ahaggar, but the latter country has a few superior qualities:— 1) Part of the year Ahaggar has a comparatively cool climate which is said to have a positive influence on the lactation of domestic animals. 2) In Ahaggar all over the country there are saline pastures which play an important part in stock-breeding — not because these plants are very nourishing but the animals do not thrive without salt. In Air saline plants are very rare and found mainly to the south and south-west of the massif where water and soil also contain salt. Many pastoralists will migrate to these regions shortly after the rains, while people who do not undertake such migrations feed their domestic animals with salt. Camels and cows have a particular need for fodder with a salt content. 3) Ahaggar has richer wells and a greater number of permanent ponds than Air. This may seem rather peculiar as precipitation is much bigger in the south than in the north. In Ahaggar and Tassili-n-Ajjer some ponds may contain fish apparently unknown in Air. In the latter country there are a great many ponds or even small lakes during the rains but they dry out very quickly when rainfall ceases. Water in Air most of the year is drawn from wells many of which go dry during the hot season; this will frequently lead to quarrels between nomads. 233 [132] [135] [137] [22] 312 [136] [578]

262 Even when grazing is good stock-breeding products are less important for food
 [222] in Ahaggar than in Air as is illustrated in fig. 3 depicting the relative importance
 of milk food and vegetable food. A small part of the vegetable food is provided by
 collecting seeds of grasses and herbs, while roots, stems, and berries of wild plants
 are less significant. The bulk of Tuareg plant food consists of millet, barley, wheat,
 [241] and dates. In Ahaggar many Tuareg have gardens with wheat and barley cultivated
 [563] for them by black-skinned agriculturists generally known by the Arab word
 438 *Haratin* (*Izzegayen* to the Tuareg). But most Ahaggar Tuareg acquire the bulk of
 262 their plant food from caravan trading with the oases of Tidikelt (dates) and with
 Sudanese villages as far south as Zinder (millet). Even in years of drought they can
 obtain millet from the Sudan in exchange for rock-salt broken at Amadror north-
 east of Ahaggar. In Air caravan trading with salt seems less necessary to Tuareg
 subsistence, although there are also in this country Tuareg who trade with salt
 from Amadror or Bilma. Most pastoral households however have a fairly regular
 [234] surplus of livestock, butter, and cheese which can provide for the necessary amount
 [563] of millet bought in Agadez or south of the massif in Damergou. There are also
 241 in Air a great many negroid agriculturists from whom pastoral Tuareg can buy
 262 vegetable products. But millet, which forms the prominent part of Tuareg plant
 [438] food, is grown to a very slight extent by the agriculturists of Air. Dates are important
 in particular to the Ahaggar Tuareg who acquire large quantities from the oases
 of Tidikelt. There are also a few Ahaggar clans the members of which own half-
 wild palms with dates of an inferior quality, as there are Tuareg who have a few
 palms growing in their garden plots. In Air dates are not so important for food
 but even there pastoral Tuareg may have some palms. Among the Tuareg of
 Tassili-n-Ajjer it is very common for pastoralists to sow wheat and barley in the
 river valleys when these have been heavily flooded (Nicolaisen 1954, p. 83, 88),
 and this primitive agricultural method was apparently known also to the Ahaggar
 Tuareg in the past (Duveyrier 1864, p. 372). More recently many pastoral Tuareg
 [312] of Ahaggar and Air have taken up agriculture by means of irrigation. There seems
 [321] to be a tendency towards semi-nomadism among the Tuareg who are very dependent
 on vegetable food derived from agriculture.

The Negroes Of The Sahara.

136 In the above section on Tuareg ecology it is stated that Air climatically and
 botanically is closely linked with the Sudan. This is true also zoologically as the
 Air fauna contains a great many species of birds and mammals characteristic of
 tropical Africa. The bird life of Air seems very akin to that of the Sudanese savan-
 nah, and, for instance, guinea fowls are extremely common even in valleys of the
 northernmost parts of the massif. As examples of tropical mammal life in Air we
 may here mention that the wart-hog lives in Central Air, and that oryx antelopes

[Text CONTINUES ON p. 76]

Spring of certain perennial plants.

Very hot.

All pastures dry.

Normal season of defoliation of acacias.

Wells go dry.

Dry annual plants form the best pastures.

Beginning of the rains.

Rainy season.

Spring of annual plants.

Temperature decreases owing to the rains.

Water abundant in ponds.

People suffer from malaria.

Rainfall stops.

Most annual plants are drying and ponds go dry.

Increase of temperature and very hot winds in daytime, while nights are cool.

Cool season begins.

Frost may occur during night, while snow is said never to fall.

Acacias are green and form good pasture together with dry annual plants.

Spring of certain perennial plants.

Considered neither hot nor cold.

Very hot.

Pastures of all perennial and annual grasses and herbs are dry.

Acacias are green and form the best pastures.

Rain maximum - if rainfall occurs.

Spring of annual plants after rain.

Neither hot nor cold.

Pastures of green annual plants in case of rainfall.

Annual pastures become dry.

Normal season of defoliation of acacias.

Dry annual plants form the best pastures.

Frost is very common during night, and snow may fall in the mountains.

All winter people suffer much from colds, and deaths owing to pneumonia or similar diseases are not uncommon at the end of the winter season.

FEB. MAR. APR. MAY JUNE JULY AUG. SEP. OCT. NOV. DEC. JAN. FEB. MAR.
 TABSIT AOULEN TESOUAN AKASH-IL. AIR TUAREG NANAT TIGREST

FEB. MAR. APR. MAY JUNE JULY AUG. SEP. OCT. NOV. DEC. JAN. FEB. MAR.
 TABSIT AOULEN AHAGGAR TUAREG ANEDUAN TAGREST

132
137
312
805

[164]

[164]

Fig. 2.-Division of the year into seasons among the Tuareg of Air and Ahaggar. Climatic and botanical characteristics are indicated. (The proper spelling of *tagrest* (tigerest) is *tagrest*, (tigerest) while *rarat* should be written *parat*).

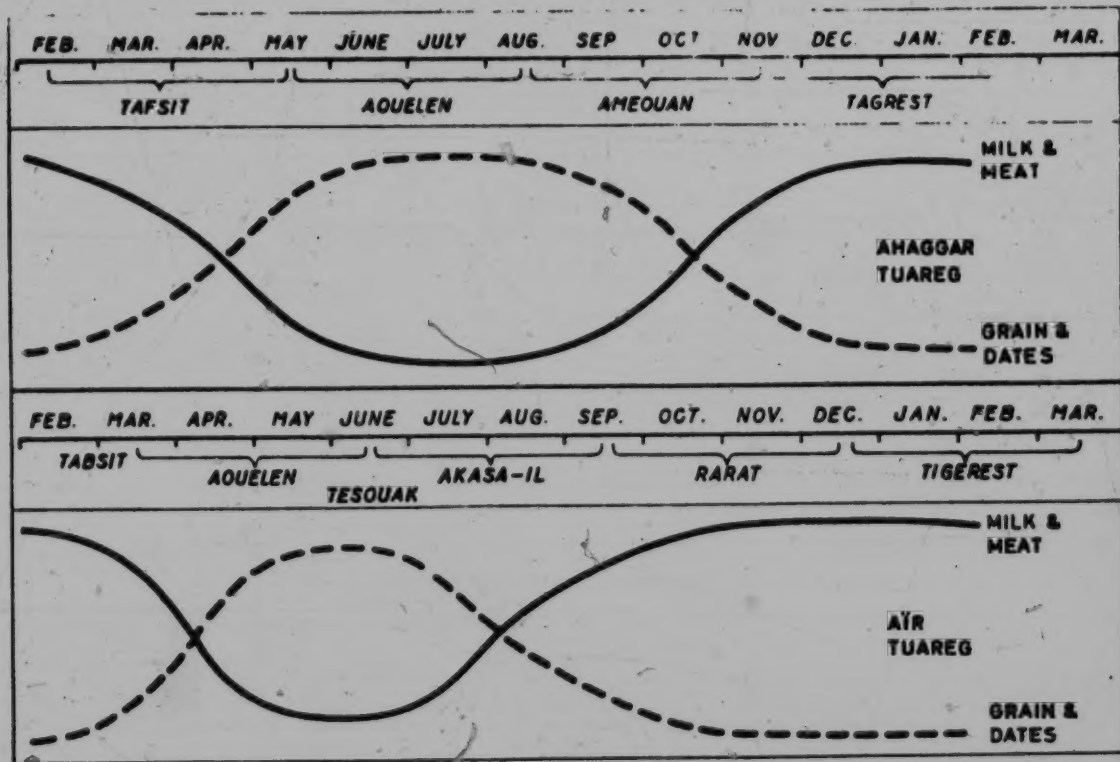


Fig. 9.—The relative importance throughout the year of food derived from stock-livestock and vegetable food mainly comprising agricultural products. The curves describe conditions in good years.

and giraffes are found in the plains immediately south and west of the massif. I do not wish here to compare in detail the natural history of Air and Ahaggar. But I wish to emphasize the fact that climatically, botanically, and zoologically an important dividing line runs between these two Tuareg countries. This should not be overlooked in an anthropological description of these parts of Northern Africa. [136] [132] [137]

At present both fair-skinned Europeans and black-skinned negroid people live all over the Sahara, and are frequently mixed. There seems to be little doubt that in the north most negroes have come in with the slave trade. We cannot entirely exclude the possibility that part of the northern negroes constitutes an ancient population of the Sahara (cf. Capot-Rey 1933, p. 167 ff.), but in Ahaggar the negroes seem to have arrived later than the fair-skinned Berbers. Until a hundred years ago all negroes of Ahaggar where apparently Tuareg slaves bought or captured in the Sudan, but the negroid Haratin then immigrated from Tidikelt to make gardens for the Tuareg. They introduced the irrigation systems known to the Tuareg as *efeli*, to the Arabs as *foggara* (i.e. irrigation by means of subterranean aqueducts), but the solid houses built of mud (*tarahamt*) so characteristic of the northern oases were apparently not introduced by the first immigrants of Haratin, but later. Another immigration of negroid agriculturists came from Tassili-n-Ajjer and in particular from the oasis of Djanel. It is not quite certain whether they came before or after the Haratin. They are said to have introduced irrigation by means of wheels (*tawout*) from which water is drawn by zebus (or donkeys), and two particular types of dwellings are also ascribed to them, namely a subterranean or semi-subterranean dwelling (*edamous*) and a square hut (*ekrber*) covered with straw or rushes. Immigrations of predominantly negroid agriculturists from Tidikelt and Djanel take place also in modern times, but all the present agriculturists do not descend from immigrants of these regions. A large part of them are descendants of Tuareg slaves manumitted by their masters. [44] [74] [567] [67] [177] [312] [342] [312] [342] [567]

Negro slaves have also been introduced from the Sudan to Air by pastoral Tuareg, but there is no doubt that Air originally was a pure Sudanese country anthropologically, as it is Sudanese with regard to climate, botany, and zoology. In other words, the oldest known inhabitants of Air were negroes while the fair-skinned Berbers have arrived at a later date. It is stated both by Nicolas and Urvoy that Air before the Tuareg was inhabited by negroid Hausa or Proto-Hausa (Nicolas 1950a, p. 45. - Urvoy 1936, p. 198 ff.), and Barth claims the word *Air* to be relatively late and of Tuareg origin, the word *Azben* also used as a name of the massif to be of Hausa origin and older (Barth 1857, I, p. 369). My investigations fully confirm these statements. All Tuareg questioned about the history of Air seem to admit that the negroid agriculturists have lived in the country before the Tuareg, and there are in the Berber dialect spoken by these people a great many Hausa words. It is, I think, of particular interest that the negroid village population of Air is said to have a kinship system quite distinct from that of all true Tuareg while [144] [114] [103] [192] [563] [601]

563 akin to the system in use among the black-skinned citizens of Agadez. These people
601 draw no distinction between parallel cousins and cross-cousins, while distinct terms for these relatives are characteristic of true Tuareg systems (fig. 8 9).

563 The material culture of the Air negroes is marked by both northern and
342 southern traits. The most common type of dwelling is a beehive hut (*tatramt*), which I have also seen south of Air in the savannah, while similar huts are unknown to the north in Ahaggar and Tassili-n-Ajjer. The huts are often placed within round enclosures which are possibly of Sudanese origin (cf. fig. 15). There are however other types of dwellings in the Air villages. Very common is a square straw hut (*terhira*) with a slightly elevated saddle-roof. It is built by the men while the beehive hut is made by women; and both types are frequently used by one and the same household. This square hut differs constructionally from the straw huts used among settled agriculturists in the north. Also rather common is a barrel-vaulted hut (*ehen*) covered with mats (fig. 14). It has the same name and is of much the same construction as the movable huts or tents used by most pastoral Air Tuareg (fig. 5 & 13). It is built by women and seems to have been introduced by pastoral women married to settled agriculturists. Finally there is in some villages a rectangular house (*tarachant*) with a flat roof. It has very solid walls generally built from stones inserted in and covered with mud. It has various sub-types more elaborately described by Rodd, who considers these houses to be of northern origin (Rodd 1968a, p. 240ff.). They have most probably been introduced from Tassili-n-Ajjer or the Fezzan from which regions came also the irrigation system now forming the basis of agriculture all over Air, namely the drawing of water from shallow wells (*anou*) by means of zebu. This system is extremely common in the Fezzan and Tassili-n-Ajjer from where, as mentioned, it was introduced also to Ahaggar. It is not known when it came to Air, but in many villages it has been adopted only very recently. Not so many years ago water for irrigation in most villages was apparently raised by human power, namely by the pole and bucket provided with a counterweight (*aroudit*) (cf. Caput-Rey 1933, p. 322), but this method has now disappeared. It can be considered the oldest irrigation machine and it is no doubt of very great age in Northern Africa including the Sudan. The method however involves much strenuous work and in view of this it may seem quite natural that agriculture in Air was in the past also practiced as shifting cultivation without any irrigation. Rodd states that in certain areas of Air rain-grown crops could be raised most years and that in the past a fair amount of cereals seems to have been produced in this way (Rodd 1968a, p. 139). I think this is correct. Certain crops as for instance millet has a very short period of growth; in Ahaggar (Abeles) millet is sown in June-July and harvested in September, and it is said that it is not watered very much and never to the same extent as wheat grown in winter. It would no doubt be possible to grow millet in many parts of Air without artificial irrigation during the rains, and in fact millet was grown by shifting cultivation not far from Agadez as recently as up to the French occupation. But nowadays agri-

24/ culture is never practised without irrigation. Rodd thinks that the Air agriculturists
 [114] gave up shifting cultivation because they are too poor to-day to risk losing their
 [174] seed in the event of inadequate or irregular rainfall (Rodd 1926a, p. 133). I rather
 think the reasons are that the agriculturists of the massif nowadays grow very little
 millet and have a better irrigation system than in the past. In summer maize forms
 by far the most important crop, and it needs irrigation which is comparatively
 easy when using zebus for drawing water. However this may be we can assume that
 a type of agriculture related to Sudanese shifting cultivation was formerly important
 to the Air agriculturists, and although irrigation is nowadays used everywhere
 agriculture in certain places of Air is still a kind of shifting cultivation. Many
 agriculturists do not resort to manuring nor do they carry fresh soil to the gardens
 as in Ahaggar. With crop rotation they utilize one and the same plot for a few
 years but then have to cut trees and brush-wood somewhere else to make a new
 [212] garden. A new well must then also be dug, but as irrigation wells are rather
 shallow this work is comparatively easy.

171 There are in Air certain agricultural implements related to those of Sudanese
 142 farming cultures. We must mention in particular a small hoe hafted by means of
 a thong (*lagoumit*). It is unknown both in Ahaggar and Tassili-n-Ajjer as well as
 further north in the desert while extremely common among Sudanese shifting
 cultivators. Feilberg has classed it with the so-called Old Sudanese Culture es-
 [114] tablished by Baumann (Feilberg 1934, p. 260 ff. - Baumann 1940, p. 50 ff.; 1944,
 p. 213 ff.). Baumann claims that this culture did not know the sickle, considered
 by him an implement of the so-called Young Sudanese Culture (Baumann 1940,
 p. 56 ff.; 1944, p. 283 ff.). The sickle (Air: *ilegesouar*, Ahaggar: *amreh*) is in fact
 unknown in many Air villages, and is according to my investigations not generally
 used for the harvesting of crops but for cutting annual grasses to be stored for
 24/ fodder. In Air the harvesting methods are as follows:- millet is cut with a knife,
 171 maize is cut at the root by means of the above-mentioned hoe, while wheat
 and barley are pulled up with the hands. Similar harvesting methods seem to be
 known in the Sudan (Baumann 1944, p. 295 ff.). As a Sudanese trait we can
 [415] perhaps also recognize the large clay amphoræ used for the storage of cereals (Rodd
 1926, p. 317. - Nicolas 1950a, p. 146).

We can conclude this section as follows:- While the negroes of Ahaggar ap-
 174 parently have arrived in that country later than the fair-skinned Berbers the oldest
 144 known population in Air were Hausa-speaking negroes subsisting predominantly
 563 as agriculturists. Their original culture apparently was closely related to that of
 Sudanese shifting cultivators. Contact with the north and in particular invasions
 of fair-skinned Tuareg have changed their cultural position. Mixing with the
 Tuareg they have also changed their physical type, but they are still predominantly
 negroid. They have adopted a Tuareg dialect but have retained part of their old
 vocabulary.

Tuareg Invasions into Air.

174 The connection between the Mediterranean and the Sudan by means of caravans through the Sahara is of very great but unknown age. Caravans have crossed the Sahara as far back as historical knowledge reaches (cf. Bates 1914, p. 101 ff. - Gsell 1920-28, I-VIII - Bovill 1958, p. 24). At the beginning donkeys and oxen were probably used as beasts of burden and the latter animals were employed also as draught animals for carriages as were horses at a later date (cf. Lhote 1953, p. 1138-1228). With the introduction of the camel, caravan trading through the desert was no doubt highly intensified. For although donkeys and also oxen can cross the Sahara in winter without much difficulty camels are better suited to desert journeys.

The first Tuareg who came to Air may have been caravan traders attracted by the excellent grazing grounds of this country. When they arrived we do not know but it seems possible to follow in broad outline the history of the Air Tuareg a thousand years back in time and to distinguish between several invasions. It must be admitted that these cannot be precisely dated and that our historical knowledge is on the whole very fragmentary. It is derived partly from oral traditions, partly [127] from written historical sources among which the so-called Agadez Chronicle is of particular value. It consists of various Arabic manuscripts in the care of the Sultan [114] of Agadez. They have been published in translation and abstracts (Palmer 1910; 1928; 1936. - Urvoy 1934). Several authors have made valuable contributions to the history of the Air Tuareg (Barth 1857, I. - Rodd 1926a, 1926b, 1938. - Palmer 1936. - Urvoy 1936. - Nicolas 1950a; 1950b), but to my mind the best general account is given by Urvoy whom I follow in outline.

As early as the 7th century A.D. extensive migrations of pastoral Berbers including the two important tribal groups of Lemta and Zazaoua passed through the desert. The Lemta settled around the Niger and gave rise to the Sonrai Empire, while the Zazaoua reached the Lake Tchad country where the state of Kanem-Bornou was created. At this time pastoral Berbers also arrived in Air where new states were created. The name of one of them is known, namely the Hausa state of Gober or Gobir which existed in Air up to the 12th century A.D.

New invasions took place in the following centuries. The ancestors of the clans of Igalden (now in Tegama and Damergou south of the massif) and Iberkhoreen (now in Azaoua north of Tahoua) have probably immigrated before the year 1000 A.D. as may also be the case of the Kel Tamgak clan in Northern Air.

As mentioned the excellent grazing grounds of Air were probably the reason for the first Tuareg invasions. From the 11th century A.D. another factor seems to have been responsible, namely the arrival in North Africa of the Arab bedouins of Beni Hilal and Beni Soleim. Nomads of the latter group invaded the Tuareg countries of Tripolitania and Fezzan (Ibn Khaldoun, I, p. 134 ff.) with the result [614] that Tuareg clans migrated southwards to Air. Among them was a group of seven clans (Itesen, Ijadarancin, Ifadalen, Tamaçou'at, Tamaga'azellet, Iza'aran, and

Ibraxouen) descending from daughters of one and the same mother. The Itesen¹⁷⁴ clan had as its particular ancestress the oldest daughter. The clans were united into a federation also named the Itesen, as its supreme chief known as the *Ayemholou*^[614] was elected from this clan. The Itesen group settled in Central Air, where for a long time it held an extremely powerful position. At a certain date a group named Immikitan was separated from the Itesen federation to form an independent or semi-independent political unit with its own chief by the title of *Emekki*. Tuareg of the Itesen-stock including the Immikitan are nowadays very few in number and mainly live in the savannah south of the massif where most of them took refuge owing to wars with later immigrants. Two of the oldest clans mentioned still exist, namely the Ifadalen in Damerrou, and the Iza'aran partly in Damerrou, partly in Air.

According to tradition the Itesen Tuareg came from the oasis of Aoudjila (Aujila) in Libya, and we may assume that they have immigrated from Tamili-n-Ajjer, the Fezzan or adjacent parts of the northern desert. The group of Tuareg known as the Kel Geres is said to have come also from Aoudjila. They invaded Air at a time between the 12th and the 14th century.

At the end of the 14th century both the Kel Geres and the Itesen came under the pressure of Tuareg invaders known as the Kel Ooui who are said to have had Aoudjila as their original homeland like the Itesen and the Kel Geres. They fought these two groups and in particular the Kel Geres who left Air finally in the 18th century to take up grazing grounds in the region of Madoua of the Nigerian borderlands. There were originally seven clans of Kel Ooui Tuareg, and five of them still exist. Like the Itesen and other Tuareg they claim descent from a common ancestress. The Kel Ooui pastoralists have largely mixed with the negroid village population also now known as Kel Ooui. Barth mentions that the true Kel Ooui clans are related to the very powerful clan of Oraren of Tamili-n-Ajjer (Barth 1857, I, p. 372).

At the same time as the Kel Ooui, or somewhat later, a clan or a group of clans known as the Kel Ferouan came to Air from the north. Their name is derived from the village of Ifrouan (Kel Ferouan = "the people of Ifrouan") but they were nevertheless true nomads roaming the northern parts of Air until the 17th century when they moved southwards to live around the city of Agadez. There are different traditions about their origin. One mentioned by Urvoy claims Egypt as their home-land; this probably implies immigration from or via Tripolitania¹⁷⁴ (Urvoy 1936, p. 130). Barth says they are related to the Oraren clan (Barth 1857, I, p. 385). According to my own investigations they claim to have lived originally in Ahaggar as close kinmen to the dominating Kel Bela clan of that region. Some Kel Ferouan Tuareg will even go so far as to hold that even after their arrival in Air they continued to intermarry with the Kel Bela of Ahaggar. According to Nicolas their ancestress is named Tadaouelt (Tadawelt) (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474), while I have been told her name was Sabenas.

Later than the Kel Ferouan other clans or groups arrived in Air from the north.

- 114 Prominent were the Kel Fadei who are said to be related to the Taitok clan of
 174 Ahaggar (Duveyrier 1864, p. 322. - Urvoy 1936, p. 150. - Nicolas 1950b, p. 472).
 Barth however is of the opinion that they came from different regions but in
 particular from Tassili-n-Ajjer (Barth 1857, I, p. 384). The Kel Fadei Tuareg first
 lived in Northern Air and their name is derived from the mountains of Fadei in
 these regions. At the end of the 18th century they migrated towards the south-west
 to the region of In Gall where they still have grazing grounds.

Still later immigrants are the Kel Tamat who came possibly three or four
 centuries ago. Urvoy mentions Ahaggar as their homeland (Urvoy 1936, p. 150),
 while Nicolas says they are related to the Orafen clan of Tassili-n-Ajjer (Nicolas
 1950b, p. 471). Even later came the Ikaskazan Tuareg who in Air attached them-
 selves to the Kel Tamat. According to Urvoy they came from Ahaggar (Urvoy
 1936, p. 151), according to Nicolas they descend partly from the Taitok of Ahaggar,
 partly from the Imenrasaten and the Orafen of Tassili-n-Ajjer (Nicolas 1950b,
 p. 472). Tuareg of the Ikaskazan told me that they are related to the Orafen.

- 173 It is well known that all over Northern Africa numerous Arabs and Berbers
 claim relationship with the Prophet and his family. Most of these traditions seem
 to be mere fake. We may, to mention an extreme example, take the negroid black-
 smiths of Ahaggar who firmly hold that their ancestor lived in Mekka as the black-
 smith of the Prophet. All traditions relating clans to Islam have been omitted in

- [128] this brief account of Tuareg history in Air. This does not mean, of course, that we
 can rely on the above traditions which are very often contradictory. An obvious
 case is that of the Kel Ferouan. In literature there are traditions of Tripolitania or
 Tassili-n-Ajjer as their homeland, while I have been constantly told that they came
 from Ahaggar as close kinsmen of the Kel Rela. I think this latter tradition gathered
 by myself does not contain much historical truth but perhaps reflects political
 relations of the past. The Kel Ferouan apparently were on quite good terms with
 174 the Kel Rela of Ahaggar whom they admired because of their power. The Kel Rela
 had many quarrels with the Taitok and also with the Kel Fadei, and the latter Tuareg
 again were enemies of the Kel Ferouan. As the Kel Fadei claimed themselves
 related to the Taitok it may have been quite natural for the Kel Ferouan (the most
 important clan in Air) to claim relationship to the Kel Rela (the most important
 clan of Ahaggar).

We can never rely on oral traditions of origin, but they may contain some
 historical truth. All traditions mentioned point to a northern origin of the Air
 Tuareg and in particular to Tassili-n-Ajjer, the Fezzan, and adjacent regions. In
 support of these traditions we can refer to the fact that the most important northern
 trade road from Air leads to the oasis of Ghat, Tripolitania, and the Fezzan.

The Sultanry of Air.

The Agades Chronicle referred to above gives an interesting description of the establishment of the Air Sultanry in 1403 A.D. Before that time, it is said, a growing anarchy reigned all over the country, and the Arombolou, supreme chief of the Itesen, therefore took the initiative to elect a Sultan to act as an arbitrator among the various groups of Tuareg. 175

According to tradition representatives of the Itesen clans were sent to the Sultan of Constantinople to persuade one of his sons to become the first Sultan of Air. After eight years' absence the deputation returned with a slave who became the ruler over the Air people. This peculiar story as stated by Urvoy is not mentioned in the Agades Chronicle nor in any other written account (Urvoy 1936, p. 169), and I shall add to this that although even nowadays it is told all over Air, there are many Tuareg who consider it spurious. Actually we do not know from which country the Sultan came nor can we know if he was in fact a slave. But according to the Tuareg all known Sultans have been black-skinned. Even to-day it is claimed that although the Sultan can take a fair-skinned Tuareg woman as one of his wives the descendants of such a marriage are never elected Sultans. Individuals who have ties of kinship with a particular Tuareg group are never chosen for that office. 173
643

Although the Sultanry was created by the initiative of the Itesen, the Sultan was also recognized by the Kel Geres who then lived in Air, by the Kel Ooui, and later by other Tuareg groups. At first he had no permanent residence but led a nomadic life in the region of Tadeliza. It did not take long before he became permanently settled at Ti-n-Chamane from where he moved to Agades which was founded at the middle of the 15th century A.D. as a centre of the then extremely flourishing trade through Air (cf. Rodd 1906a, p. 102, 364f., 409. - Urvoy 1936, p. 164). To the Tuareg the Sultan is known by the title *Ammalal* - a word used for supreme chiefs by most Tuareg. The meaning of this word is not exactly clear. Foucauld does not discuss its origin but only identifies its meaning as "a chief who is not subjected to any other chief" (Foucauld 1951-52, III, p. 1213f.). According to Duveyrier *Ammalal* means literally "the owner of the land" (Duveyrier 1864, p. 331), and this meaning is also ascribed to the word by Lhote (Lhote 1955, p. 189) and Blanguernon (Blanguernon 1955, p. 47). It is my own view that although there can be no doubt that *Ammalal* is connected with *amal* meaning "land", it may perhaps be doubted whether it contains the meaning of "ownership". 643
114

In practise the Sultan had little power. The Agades Chronicle refers to Sultans who acted as war leaders of all Air Tuareg against foreign Tuareg groups or the forces of Sudanese states; but within Air it was difficult for a Sultan to maintain his power over certain warlike groups of Tuareg. Leo Africanus writes that the inhabitants of the desert depose and elect Sultans whenever they like (Leo Africanus III, 175
643

175 p. 828), and so it has been right up to modern times. Many Sultans have had only
643 very short periods of reign.

[65] Although the Sultan had but little real power he had a high prestige and was
very rich. He had the right to dues from goods passing through Agadez, as men-
tioned already by Leo (Leo Africanus III, p. 828f.), and he was also entitled to
dues from the Bilma salt trade. But the Sultan had under his direct command only
the negroid populations of Agadez and the villages of In Gall and Teguidda-n-
Tecem. The people of Agadez, said to be members of the religious *Ineslemen* class,
have never paid any tribute to the Sultan, whereas he received annual payments
from the two villages mentioned. All other people of Air apparently had no fixed
economic obligations to the Sultan.

The Sultan had the direct jurisdiction over the negroes under his command.
He was the arbitrator and supreme judge in disagreements between the different
Tuareg groups to be mentioned below. But he could not meddle in their internal
affairs, and rarely was so influential that he could stop the frequent quarrels.

As we have seen the dominant Tuareg group at the establishment of the Sul-
tanry was the Itesen most of whom left the massif long before the arrival of the
French. We have also seen that the Kel Geres owing to wars with the Kel Ooui in
the 18th century went southwards to the Nigerian borderlands where they became
politically independent. In the 19th century the important political groups of the
Air Sultanry were the following:-

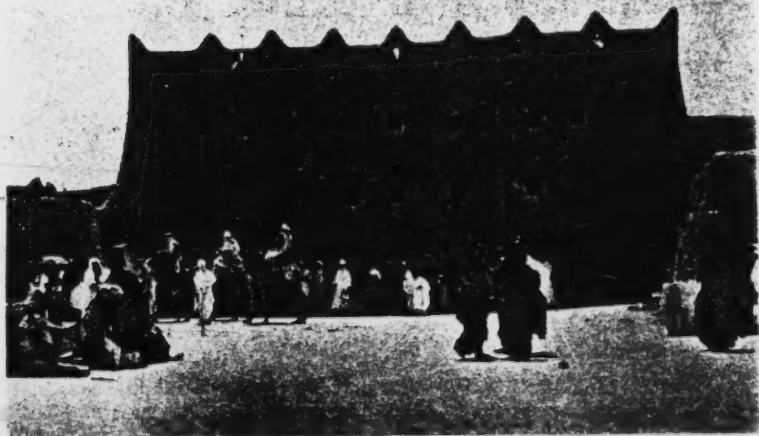
162 The Kel Ooui occupying the eastern and most mountaineous parts of the
massif. According to figures given by Nicolas for clans and villages of the Kel Ooui
175 (Nicolas 1950b, p. 465ff.) their total number seems now to be about 8000.

631 The Kel Tamat including the Ikaskazan. The group judged by the figures for
some of the clans (Nicolas 1950b, p. 471f.) has about 4000 individuals most of
whom originally lived west of the Kel Ooui. Contrary to the two following groups
they were placed under the authority of the supreme Kel Ooui chief, the *Anastafidet*.

The Kel Fadei in the region of In Gall. Their total number according to
Nicolas is 2341 (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474).

The Kel Ferouan comprising clans in the western parts of the massif including
the region of Agadez, and also south of the massif towards Damerougou. They number
about 5000.

175 The Kel Ooui group was for periods of the past very important politically. But
184 its political system apparently differed from that of other Tuareg groups which
565 may be explained by the fact that a large number of them were settled agri-
culturists. The other Tuareg groups mentioned, on the contrary, were made up
exclusively of pastoralists who roamed in the lower parts of the massif and the
adjacent plains. In these groups there were two important classes which seem to
have been of little importance among the Kel Ooui. The two classes in literature
175 are known as "noble Tuareg" (*Imacheyen* sing. *Amachey*) and "vassal Tuareg"
565 (*Imrad*, sing. *Amrid*). The vassal class in all groups was more numerous than that
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492
644

[533] Fig. 4.—The palace of the Sultan of Air at Agadez. — The Sultan has just returned from a short journey out of town and musicians including three drummers mounted on camels (left) are playing in his honour. The drummers beating two drums each and musicians blowing various wind-instruments accompany the Sultan when he leaves his palace. The drums of the Sultan are different from that of the Kel Ferouan drum-chief (fig. 6). They are larger and deeper, have their skin fastened in a different manner, and are beaten with sticks.

175 of noble Tuareg from whom the supreme chief of the group was elected. The chief
565 had as his sole insignia a drum named *effebel*, or *arazou*. The name of the drum
631 *effebel* was and is still used as the name and title of the chief who is addressed by this very word, and *effebel* is also used as a name of the group under his command. I therefore use the word "drum-group" for such groups of Tuareg as the Kel Tamat, the Kel Fadei, and the Kel Ferouan, and the word "drum-chief" for their chiefs. There were also in the past smaller drum-groups as for instance the Echchikhen of Damergou to whom I shall refer below.

175 The Sultan was elected by the leaders of the Tuareg groups mentioned but
643 they did not all take part in his official instalment. The instalment ceremony is described by Barth as follows:— From his private room in the palace (fig. 4) the Sultan was led to the public hall. Here the chiefs of the Itesen and the Kel Geres asked him to sit down upon a bed made from ribs of palm leaves covered with mats, but he was not allowed to lift his feet and sit in Oriental fashion until permission was given by the Kel Ooui (Barth 1857, I, p. 461f.). Jean who gives a more detailed account says that the Kel Geres did not participate, and had no voice of election (Jean 1909, p. 159ff.). It is noteworthy that the chiefs of such important drum-groups as the Kel Fadei and the Kel Ferouan did not participate in the ceremony, which dates from the time when the Itesen, the Kel Geres, and the



342

Fig. 5.—Mat-covered tent typical of the pastoral Air Tuareg. The tent in this photograph is inhabited by the Kel Ferouan drum-chief. It is a very simple dwelling compared with the Sultan's palace containing two storeys and several rooms. Nevertheless the Kel Ferouan drum-chief in the time preceding the French occupation was politically more important than the Sultan. The photograph is taken in the plains north of Aderbissinat at the end of the rains. Annual grasses of a high value for fodder are growing between the scattered trees and bushes of thorny acacias, which are also valuable fodder-plants for camels and goats. [643] [137]

Kel Ooui formed the important political units of Air. The Kel Fadei and the Kel Ferouan at the establishment of the Sultanry had not yet arrived or lived at the northern outskirts of the massif. 175 643

In the 19th century the Kel Fadei and the Kel Ferouan paid very little respect to the Sultan. At the time of the French occupation the Kel Fadei even had the impertinence to collect the Sultan's dues from the village of In Gall (Jean 1909, p. 162), and Barth mentions that the Sultan was afraid that the Kel Fadei would detach themselves from him to make an alliance with the Ioullemmeden (Barth 1857, I, p. 478). As for the Kel Ferouan their chief was the most prominent leader of all Air. This is clearly documented by Jean (Jean 1909, p. 103f.) and it is told over and over again by all Air Tuareg to-day. Barth states that the Sultan when away from Agadez on journeys was replaced by the Kel Ferouan drum-chief, and he thinks that the Kel Ferouan originally formed the noble family from which the Sultan or Amenokal was chosen (Barth 1857, I, p. 385). This agrees with information I have gathered among the noble Kel Ferouan, who will also claim that their clan came to Air before all other Tuareg. The truth however seems to be that they had originally nothing to do with the Sultanry. They took up grazing [114]

[text continues on p. 87]

Clans of the Kel Ferouan Drum-Group

(Clans which are not separated by horizontal lines are said to be related to each other. - 162
The two former clans of the list are the only true noble clans of the group). 614
631

Clans	Number of Individuals & Households (Nicolas 1950b)	Notes	Traditional Grazing Grounds
Kel Ferouan (Iraouattian)	350 58	There are to-day very few Tuareg of these two noble clans, and it is said that even in the past they were very few.	Teloua (western part)
Kel Azel	180 47		Anigen
Ijakarkaren Igendianen	203 41 247 55	Attached to the Kel Azel. Close to the camp of the the drum-chief as soldiers permanently under his command.	Tafadek Borhal
Ikhabban?			
Iberdianen (a clans)	621 97	Living close to the noble Kel Ferouan as servants.	Goufat Touendegit Eknaouen
Irobouren		Living close to the noble Kel Ferouan as servants.	
Imezzouren	162 31	Attached to the Kel Azel.	Tirsaren
Ikaoukan	150	Attached to the Kel Azel.	
Ifuras (a clans)	396 95	Attached to the Kel Azel.	Tedein
Ikochechiten		A section of the Immez- silalen, Attached to the Kel Azel.	Afarak
Imezzourg	106 30		Terazet
Idaleyen	218 67		Telhechame
Alt Oren	160		Maramaro
Immezsilalen		27	Teloua (eastern part) Asa
Kel Traemt	237		Teloua (eastern part) Asa
Ikkhar	42 12		

Nicolaisen

Political Systems of Pastoral Tuareg

87

Clans	Number of Individuals & Households (Nicolas 1950b)	Notes	Traditional Grazing Grounds
162 614 631 Ifadeyen (2 clans)			Kourouhobo Imechamelouan Torouf Brinabo Ti-n-Daouine Anialen Abelenma Ekaouel
Igetofen			
Iraouelen			Tombalaga Akadane Meigauari
Elbaraten			Onouachor
Itagan			Eleg
Isakaranen	653 107		Ti-n-Tebeagin
Kel Tedale (3 clans)	1300	They may be noble by origin.	Talak Ouraren Zaurika
Kel Akarra	164 39	Said to be of noble origin and to have had the Ibararochiten clan as their particular vassals.	Ti-n-Tebouak
Ibararochiten		Said to have been the particular vassals of the Kel Akarra clan.	Emdegra

175 grounds round Agades in the 17th century, and were probably called to this region by a Sultan who needed them to keep order in the country. The actual power then passed into the hands of the Kel Ferouan drum-chief.

The Kel Ferouan Tuareg.

114
614 Lists of clans which belong to the Kel Ferouan drum-group have already been published. Jean has fourteen clans in his list (Jean 1909, p. 104), Rodd and Abadie have fifteen (Rodd 1926a, p. 427f. - Abadie 1927, p. 391f.), while Nicolas refers twenty-two clans to the group (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474f., 480). My own list comes close to that of Nicolas but contains a few additional names which however may refer to sections of the other clans. In my list I have indicated the relationship between the clans and their traditional grazing grounds. I have not been able to get precise particulars about the size of clans, and I therefore quote the figures

given by Nicolas (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474f.). The clans differ greatly in size ranging from 633 to 42 individuals. The average figure for a clan is about 950.

A clan is generally termed *tasuit* which seems to have the meaning of "a palm from which fingers issue". Many clans have an ancestress whose name is known to the members. The Kel Ferouan Tuareg however have very little genealogical knowledge. They rarely know their kinsmen more than three or four generations back, and they cannot trace the relationship between all clan members and their ancestress. Traditionally a clan is a group of matrilineally related persons, but there is nowadays a strong tendency to acknowledge the patrilineal principle for clan membership. A more detailed description of Tuareg clans will be given in the later chapter on the Ahaggar Tuareg.

To-day the Air Tuareg live most of the year in camps consisting of three to five barrel-vaulted tents covered with mats (fig. 3 & 13). The inhabitants of these small camps generally form an extended family, e.g.,

- 1) husband, wife, married sons, and their children.
- 2) two brothers, their wives, married sons, and their children.
- 3) a brother and a sister together with their spouses and children.
- 4) husband, wife, unmarried children, husband's mother and mother's sister, and his sister's daughter with her husband.

In the rainy season (*akasa*) and in the beginning of the following dry season (*rarat*) several small camps of extended families may camp together. The only reason for this is said to be that kinsmen appreciate each other's company. I have myself never seen such big camps. During my visit to Air 1955 the annual pastures were not so well developed as to allow the concentration of many domestic animals in one and the same place. It is said that camps in the past were bigger than nowadays. The Air Tuareg were then constantly running the risk of being raided by pastoral Arabs, Tebu, or Tuareg from other groups.

Clan-endogamy is claimed an ideal by many Air Tuareg, but exogamous marriages are common and have occurred also in the past. The members of two clans hold that they have intermarried since the remote date of their establishment. They claim descent from a brother and a sister who married two cross-cousins, and the preferred type of marriage among the Kel Ferouan Tuareg is in fact that to a cross-cousin - ideally to a mother's brother's daughter. This may be seen from the composition of 38 marriages which were as follows:-

Mother's brother's daughter.....	7
Father's sister's daughter.....	4
Classificatory cross-cousins.....	6
Other kinswomen.....	13
No blood-relationship between husband and wife....	8

Marriages total... 38

582 Marriages to cross-cousins are justified by myths telling that as long as there
 [773] have been Tuareg there have also been marriages of this type. There are also
 legends or stories to prove that such marriages have always been good, other types
 of marriages bad. Cross-cousin marriage is further said to be preferred because it
 [581] results in an exchange of individuals and livestock between two families. Finally
 [605] cross-cousin marriage is considered the best type of marriage because institutional
 joking exists between cross-cousins. For although joking between cross-cousins will
 stop with marriage, the mere fact that there has once been joking between husband
 and wife is said to reduce troubles and quarrels between them.

605 Among the Kel Ferouan joking between cross-cousins goes together with
 606 joking between brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, and also with avoidance be-
 221 tween children-in-law and parents-in-law. Radcliffe-Brown has explained these
 two different types of behaviour as parts of one and the same system within which
 they have an identical social function, namely that of preventing conflicts (Rad-
 cliffe-Brown 1950, p. 56ff.; 1952, p. 90 ff.). I have elsewhere treated this theory
 (Nicolaisen 1957a, 1957b, 1959b). Here I shall content myself with the statement
 that my Tuareg material seems to confirm the theory set forth by Radcliffe-Brown,
 the more so as I have been able to find cases of transition between the two out-
 wardly most different modes of behaviour. The extent to which joking is carried
 on between partners of the same sex is always dependent on age. Between two
 male cross-cousins or two brothers-in-law there will be little or no joking if they
 are of very different age, and in very extreme cases joking may in fact change into
 avoidance. It is also interesting that in most Kel Ferouan clans there is institutional
 joking between a man and his mother's brother's wife. According to the rules of
 preferential mating she may later become his mother-in-law, whom in that case
 he must avoid very strictly. This custom, however, does not seem to be found in
 [184] the Iforas clans which were adopted into the Kel Ferouan drum-group about a
 hundred years ago. I think that Radcliffe-Brown's theory on joking and avoidance
 is very important, and I shall later in this study present material to support it.

601 The particular position of cross-cousins is indicated in the kinship system (fig. 8)
 which also shows that there are particular terms for children of cross-cousins and
 for certain matrilineal relatives. As clans, according to traditional rules, are groups
 614 of matrilineally related persons it would seem natural that succession to clan
 chieftainship followed the maternal line. This is also stated by Nicolas, who claims
 the line of succession to be as follows:- 1) the brother of the deceased chief; 2) his
 mother's sister's son; 3) his sister's son. According to Nicolas this rule of succession
 also holds for the Ahaggar Tuareg and for the Kel Geres (Nicolas 1950c, p. 492f.).
 614 Rodd states the traditional rule of succession in Air as matrilineal. But he claims
 613 that the deceased chief's sister's son is the first in line, and he refers to the fact that
 this rule has often been followed at the election of Sultans (Rodd 1926a, p. 151 f.,
 463 ff.).

It is frequently mentioned in the literature on various Tuareg groups that the

1 [p. 202, category 116, -Analyst]

sister's son is first in the line of succession. Already Ibn Batutah mentions that among a southern Tuareg people known as the Mesoufa a man was inherited by his sister's son, and he also states that the Sultan of Tecadda (possibly Tegguida-n-Adrar immediately south of the Air massif) was succeeded by his sister's son (Ibn Batutah IV, p. 388, 443). According to Barth a sister's son was preferred as chief in Air and in Tassili-n-Ajjer (Barth 1857, I, p. 374f.). For the Tuareg of Ghat (Rat) (Tassili-n-Ajjer) Richardson states that chiefs and Sultans are succeeded by their sister's sons (Richardson 1848, II, p. 65f.), and for the Northern Tuareg in general we have the statement of Duveyrier that this principle was valid not only for succession to chieftainship but also for rights to blood-wealth, which should be given to a plain man's sister's son. It is very remarkable that Duveyrier also relates in detail a Tuareg myth about the origin of the sister's son's right to succession (Duveyrier 1864, p. 356, 397ff.). Again, we find that among the Tuareg of Ahnet (the Ahaggar Tuareg) a chief should be succeeded by his full brother or a maternal half-brother, and then by his sister's son (Bisuel 1888, p. 23). From the Ioullemmeden Tuareg who long ago have adopted patrilineal succession (Nicolas 1950a, p. 213; 1950c, p. 49af. - Richer 1924, p. 3, 52) an interesting matrilineal custom has been described by Feral. He states that in certain Tuareg clans round Gao property considered indivisible is still inherited by the sister's son (Feral 1955, p. 21f.). Thus Rodd's statement about the sister's son's right of succession is confirmed by many authors, but there is also in literature information to confirm the statement of Nicolas, that a sister's son comes next to a maternal cousin in the line of succession. This is claimed for the Ahaggar Tuareg by Benhasera (Benhasera 1908, p. 51, 97f.), Foucauld (Foucauld 1951-52, I, p. 152f., II, p. 916f.), and by Lhote, who refers to the statement of Benhasera (Lhote 1935, p. 189). Dubié's further explicitly stated that the priority of maternal cousins is acknowledged by the Tuareg of Tassili-n-Ajjer (Dubié's 1936, p. 89).

In Ahaggar I have been told by many Tuareg that a maternal cousin is the proper successor next to a brother of the deceased chief, and genealogies prove that a maternal cousin has more frequently been elected chief than has a sister's son. Nevertheless, Tuareg whom I consider extremely versed in traditional custom claim the priority of a sister's son. In connection with Duveyrier's statements this makes me believe that the Northern Tuareg originally preferred sister's sons to succeed as chiefs, while preference to maternal cousins is a custom more recently adopted.

The Kel Ferouan Tuareg have not followed any particular rule of succession in recent times. For in most clans there is now very little prestige attached to chieftainship, and chiefs are said to have much trouble with the collecting of taxes. In many vassal clans chiefs are changed very frequently as qualified people often refuse election or retire after a few years. Many Air Tuareg whom I asked about the rule of succession in the past all agreed that the sister's son had the right to succeed; they never referred to rights of maternal cousins, and claimed that in the

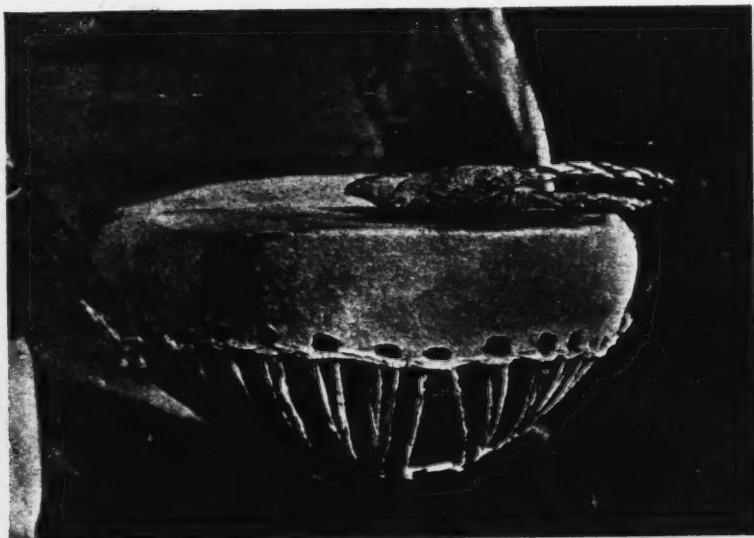
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Fig. 6.—The drum which is the only insignia of the Kel Ferouan drum-chief. Similar drums are found in all Tuareg groups.

614 past, as nowadays, the proper successor to chieftainship was the deceased chief's
[174] son. This rule of succession is no doubt due to Islamic influence which, as mentioned,
has introduced patrilineal succession among the Ioullemmeden Tuareg and also
in various clans of the religious class of *Ineslemen* (sing. *Aneslem*). I think there can
be no doubt that succession among the Air Tuareg was originally matrilineal and
that most possibly a sister's son was considered the proper successor to chief-
tainship.

The Political System of the Kel Ferouan.

634 The important noble clans of the Kel Ferouan drum-group, namely the true Kel
[614] Ferouan (or Iraouatten) and the Kel Azel, are said to be matrilineally related, as
[173] the ancestress of the Kel Azel was a woman of the Kel Ferouan clan. She married,
tradition says, an Arab who was killed at her own request.

[202] The chief of the noble Kel Ferouan clan had the only drum of the whole group
of which he was the supreme chief. The drum followed him on journeys, and there
were various signals used to summon his subjects. It is said that these signals should
be obeyed not only by members of all vassal clans but also by the noble Kel Azel.
778 The drum, which may still be seen in the camp of the Kel Ferouan drum-chief, is
534 made of wood and covered with skin (fig. 6). It is believed that it has a mystic
power. Therefore, when the skin was worn and had to be replaced the man charged
with this task would do it looking away from the drum lest he might be struck

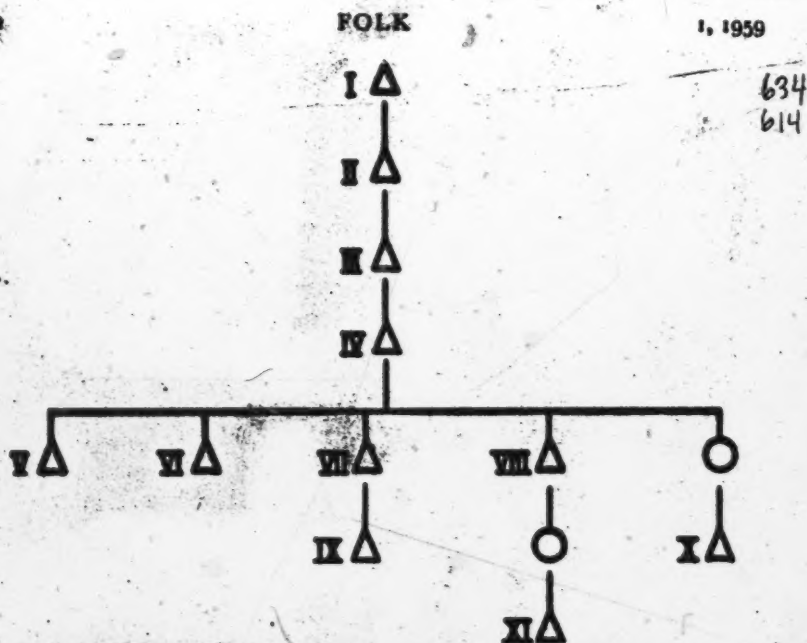


Fig. 7.—Succession of drum-chiefs in the small drum-group of Echchikhen living in Damerjou south of the Air Massif.

blind. It is also said that the drum must never come into contact with soil or water, and that it must never be touched by women.

Matrilinially related to the Kel Ferouan are also the Echchikhen clan of Damergou, as its ancestress was a noble woman from the Kel Ferouan. But patrilineally the Echchikhen seem to be related to Iforas Tuareg of religious status. The chief of the Echchikhen has a drum of his own as he has the right over a few vassal clans of Damergou, namely the Imasoren, Khamedan, Ekanaouen, and Iraouelen - clans said to be poor and in part subsisting as hunters. Among the Echchikhen I was able to collect a list of drumchiefs who have been chosen mainly according to the patrilineal principle (fig. 7). A new chief of the drum-group had just been elected, and he had no ties of kinship with the Echchikhen. He belonged to the Kel Geres group, and the prominent noble Echchikhen Tuareg were very sorry and infuriated about his election, as they wanted a man from their own clan to take over the leadership of the whole drum-group. But they could do nothing about it as the chief can be elected only by his vassals.

This same principle is and was valid for the election of drum-chiefs in the Kel Ferouan group - they have always been elected exclusively by the vassals, who after the French occupation have also elected drum-chiefs who did not belong to the noble Kel Ferouan clan. Most probably it was not so in pre-European times, but the noble Kel Ferouan unfortunately have a very fragmentary knowledge of their

173 drum-chiefs in the past. They say that fifty chiefs have reigned over the group
634 until now. This figure, of course, should not be taken too literally, although there have most certainly been many chiefs of whom nothing is known. The present drum-chief and his brother know the names of the first four chiefs who are said to have reigned over the group in the very remote past, but the more recent chiefs are not known further back than the latter half of the 19th century.

The first drum-chiefs were the following:-

Sabenas, the ancestress of the noble clan and the first ruler of the Kel Ferouan drum-group. Her drum was made of iron, they say.

Amenokal, the elder son of *Sabenas*.

Mohammed Aman, the younger brother of *Amenokal*.

Elkarebi, the brother of *Mohammed Aman*.

The drum-chiefs known to have reigned more recently are the following:-

Boboker, who was installed in the latter half of the 19th century. He belonged to the Kel Ferouan clan and was of pure noble origin.

Rali, who was the younger brother of *Boboker*. He was drum-chief when the French arrived. He is said to have reigned for 55 years and to have died about 30 years ago. He was considered a very skillful and wise chief, and is remembered by all Tuareg of the Kel Ferouan drum-group with profound respect. *Rali's* tomb is south of the massif somewhat north of Aderbissinat where the present drum-chief most frequently camps. On *Rali's* death-day the drum-chief, his family, and his

769 slaves visit the tomb for a sacrificial feast in which I had the opportunity to participate in 1955. A sheep was ritually killed by the chief and eaten close to the tomb. Later there was a prayer led by the chief, who thereupon entered the tomb to take soil which was distributed between all worshippers. They put the soil on the top of their heads and also in their mouths to benefit from the sacred power of the
[177] deceased chief. - Ancestral worship of this type is most probably no traditional custom of the Tuareg, but has been introduced with Islam. Tuareg are generally afraid of deceased persons and will avoid their tombs.

Mohammed, who belonged to the Kel Ferouan clan through his mother, while his father came from the Iforas. After one year he was dismissed by the vassals. Apparently he was no close kinsman of the preceding drum-chief, *Rali*.

175
634 *Ouanarli*, who had no bonds of kinship with the Kel Ferouan clan. His father belonged to the religious and in Tuareg opinion very holy clan of Kel Es Souk. He was dismissed by the vassals after one year's reign.

Afanou, who belonged to the Echchikhen. He died after one year's reign.

Koutia, who was of noble Kel Ferouan stock being the son of *Rali's* younger brother.

Agg Elker, of pure noble origin being the son of *Rali's* daughter. He gave up his office after a period of some years, but was later re-elected. He is the present drum-chief of the Kel Ferouan group.

Azerha, who was the son of *Rali*.

Agg Elkher, in his second period of reign. He is very old, and the French consider his son the actual representative of the group. [75] 634

On the ceremonial installment of a drum-chief in the past I have gathered conflicting information. People of the noble Kel Ferouan clan claim that the drum-chief should be installed by a vassal Tuareg of the group, who appointing the chief would wrap a new veil or a turban around his head. But there are many vassals who say that a drum-chief should be installed in this way by the Sultan, and that in the past when dissatisfied with a drum-chief they would ask permission of the Sultan to dismiss him. I believe that this latter statement is officially correct, but it is possible that in the 19th century Kel Ferouan drum-chiefs as the most powerful chiefs of Air were installed by vassals. [643]

The drum-chief should sanction the election of all chiefs of clans belonging to his group. He should install them ceremoniously providing them with a veil as at his own installation. When a vassal chief was installed in this way he should give a camel to the drum-chief. At present when the Kel Ferouan drum-chief has little authority while the Sultan has gained prestige and power, the installment of a vassal chief may be undertaken by the Sultan, but this is against traditional rules. [614] 634 [431] [178]

In the past the drum-chief was considered the true owner of the land inhabited by his vassals. The drum-chief, it is said, would allot a particular area to each clan of vassals, but members of a vassal clan were not allowed to defend their territory against other vassals of the same group, as all land belonged to the drum-chief. 423 634 565

The drum-chief had the right to half of the bride-wealth (*taggalt*), or one camel from any vassal marriage, and he should receive or inherit a camel at any death among his vassals. These payments seem to have been the true marks of vassalship but the vassals had many other obligations towards their drum-chief. 565 634 583

One of the very important functions of the drum-chief was his position as the war-leader of the whole Kel Ferouan group. In battle the noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg with the drum-chief would keep behind the vassals who formed the true soldiers of the group. The drum-chief would lead the battle and he alone could decide on war and peace. It was also his right to undertake the division of war-booty for which there were three distinct terms:- 634 701 634 727

1) *Temargedas*, that is booty taken on raids organized by the drum-chief. The term refers to any kind of booty, e.g. riding camels, she-camels, horses, cattle, etc. Half of such booty according to the noble Tuareg was the right of the drum-chief while the other half should be given to the vassals. Vassal Tuareg nowadays know extremely little about these old rules, but I met one vassal Tuareg who claimed that one seventh of the booty should go to the drum-chief.

2) *Touit*, that is booty taken from foreign groups of Tuareg, or from Arab and Tebu pastoralists attacking camps of the Kel Ferouan group. In other words this kind of booty comprises riding camels and horses taken from assailants who run away, are killed, or are made prisoners. Under such circumstances it is said that the drum-chief would take a number of riding animals at his discretion. A

634 particular case is related of Ioullemmeden Tuareg attacking a camp of
 721 Kel Ferouan vassals who made a counterattack and won the battle. They made
 four prisoners and took as booty two horses and several riding camels (unknown
 how many). As his part the drum-chief took one horse and five camels. But he also
 took the four prisoners to his camp. He kept them there for about a month, then
 they were released, dressed in new clothes, and mounted on excellent riding camels
 with good saddles.

[6565] 3) *Ekachchadi*, that is booty taken by vassals during raids carried out without
 [721] the permission of their drum-chief. In this case the drum-chief would take all booty
 for himself and leave nothing for the vassals who were not allowed to engage in
 warfare on their own account – unless attacked by foreign raiders.

634 The drum-chief had other income from his subjects who paid him an annual
 651 fee termed *sadaqa*. This fee, it is said, was paid not only by vassals but also by noble
 565 households of the Kel Azel clan. The *sadaqa* fees were collected on behalf of the
 drum-chief by people of the Echchikhen and by negroid blacksmiths, who form
 a particular and rather numerous caste. There were definite rules for the payment
 of *sadaqa*. It was computed from the size of herds and flocks of all domestic animals
 with the exception of donkeys for which no payment was made. As an example can
 here be mentioned the payments for camel herds:—

Size of Herd.	<i>Sadaqa</i> .
10 camels	2 goats
15 camels	3 goats
25 camels	1 young camel
50 camels	1 full-grown camel
100 camels	2 full-grown camels.

[735] The Echchikhen and the blacksmiths took the *sadaqa* animals to the drum-
 chief. He gave some of them to the collectors who were themselves exempted from
 taxation. The bulk of the animals was sold at the market of Agadez and most of
 the proceeds given to poor people by the drum-chief, who would keep a small part
 for himself.

634 The drum-chief had the supreme jurisdiction over his group. In all internal
 692 matters the drum-chief and not the Sultan was the supreme judge. In difficult
 cases he would consult Islamic jurists of Agadez or the Echchikhen. All members
 of the Kel Ferouan group could be fined by the drum-chief and indemnities
 (*edeiet*) were then given to the chief. In case of murder the killed person's kinsmen
 682 had the right of blood-revenge to which the drum-chief could make no objection.
 696 But if the family of the person killed consented, the drum-chief could take all
 livestock from the murderer and pass it over to the children of the slain man whose
 184 kin in that case lost their right of revenge. Apparently there has never been any
 682 fixed size of blood-wealth among the Kel Ferouan Tuareg in contrast to the two

groups of Northern Tuareg and Arab Tribes of the Sahara.

groups of Northern Tuareg and Arab tribes of the Sahara. Punishments for theft are said to have been very severe. A thief who had not stolen previously was put into jail in Agadez; if he stole again after his release one of his hands was cut off, while for a third theft the penalty was capital punishment said to be carried out at the market place of Agadez in a very cruel way:— pointed sticks were placed under the man's armpits, under his chin, and under the back of his head so that he would die when no longer capable of keeping standing. Punitive measures as imprisonment and capital punishment are no doubt foreign to traditional Tuareg law and were in all probability originally practised by the Sultan. As the drum-chief of the Kel Ferouan was in fact the true master of Air, including the city of Agadez, he may have made use of the prison as he may have imposed capital punishment on thieves. But proper theft is very rare among pastoral Tuareg.

Even vassal Tuareg say that the drum-chief could be very strict and severe with them in the past. But here it should be remembered that there were limits to his power as he could not refuse his subjects the right of blood-revenge. It should also be reiterated that the drum-chief was elected by his vassals, who could also dismiss him. And strictness or severeness with his vassals was not the drum-chief's normal way of conduct. Like other noble Tuareg he would not only associate with the vassals on intimate terms, but he would also joke with them. A joking relationship similar to that of cross-cousins and of brothers and sisters-in-law, including sham-fights and minor "thefts", existed between all noble Tuareg and all vassals of the Kel Ferouan group. They would joke with each other unless there were a great difference in age. But although joking was reciprocal it is said that the drum-chief could stop joking, in which case the vassals would "be afraid of him". I have already referred to the theory that the social function of joking between cross-cousins and in-laws seems to be the prevention of conflicts. The function of joking between people of different classes is similar, and this should be the more emphasized as this very explanation has frequently been given me by the Tuareg. "People who are different tease each other to prevent troubles", they say. For this very reason there was joking between noble Tuareg and vassals, but joking between members of these two different Tuareg classes did not occur unless they belonged to the same drum-group. Thus there would be no joking between vassals of the Kel Ferouan group and noble Tuareg of the Kel Fadei. In this latter case there would be avoidance or strict reserve.

It is said that marriages between noble Tuareg and vassals would not take place in the past. This is not entirely true, but they seem to have been rare. I think that one reason for this may be due to the fact that marriages between noble Tuareg and their vassals would tend to break down the structure of the political system. By such marriages the noble Tuareg, including the drum-chief, would acquire a great many relatives-in-law to whom the conduct would be avoidance or institutionally constant joking. For in addition to true in-laws there are numerous classificatory in-laws. Thus a man (or a woman) has all spouses of his brothers and sisters and

Air

607 of his parallel cousins and cross-cousins as his brothers-in-law (*alegges*, pl. *ilousan*),
 [601] or sisters-in-law (*aleggest*, pl. *tilousin*), while the spouses of descendants of all
 [606] brothers, sisters, and cousins will be his sons-in-law (*adeggat*, pl. *idoulan*), or
 daughters-in-law (*adeggalt*, pl. *tedoulin*). These terms are always used reciprocally,
 and parents-in-law and children-in-law will avoid each other accordingly.

Apparently most vassal clans were faithful to their drum-chief and recognized
 634 his authority. But Tuareg pastoralists led a turbulent and warlike life, and the
 614 members of certain noble clans, or clans listed as vassals but probably of noble
 565 origin, would not accept the leadership of the drum-chief although they belonged
 to his group. Thus there were many quarrels with the noble Kel Azel Tuareg. It is
 [687] said that in the past the drum-chief more than once punished them very severely
 not only taking all their livestock but also burning down their camps.

The three clans of Kel Tedale in Northern Air were only nominally part of the
 634 Kel Ferouan drum-group. My information confirms Joubert's statement that the
 614 Kel Tedale paid no tribute to the Kel Ferouan drum-chief or to chiefs of other
 565 drum-groups in Air (Joubert 1939, p. 246). The political independence of the Kel
 114 Tedale is also stated by Jean (Jean 1909, p. 104). The noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg
 claim the Kel Tedale to be true vassals of their drum-chief, and both Jean and
 Nicolas list them as vassals (Jean 1909, p. 104. - Nicolas 1950b, p. 475). Rodd
 thinks that both noble and vassal Tuareg were originally found in the three clans
 the homeland of which was probably Ahaggar (Rodd 1926a, p. 427). The Kel
 Tedale Tuareg I met all emphasized their noble origin, but Rodd's explanation
 was verified by Kel Ferouan vassals who said that both noble and vassal Tuareg
 are found among the Kel Tedale. That some of them are noble by origin seems
 to appear from the statement of Nicolas that the Kel Tedale in part are related
 to the Ihaḍanaren clan of Tassili-n-Ajjer (Nicolas 1950b, p. 475). For the latter
 clan is considered noble by all Northern Tuareg.

634 The Kel Tedale were so numerous, so rich in camels, and lived so remote from
 614 the rest of the Kel Ferouan clans that the drum-chief could not maintain his power
 565 over them. The drum-chief also had trouble with another clan of his group, the
 Kel Akarra. This clan is said to have been originally of noble status and to have
 had as its particular vassals the clan of Ibararochchiten. The drum-chief assisted by
 [558] vassals of the whole group in the past imposed vassalship upon the Kel Akarra, who
 however refused to give him part of their bride-wealth. It is said that the drum-
 chief three times made war against the Kel Akarra to bring them to submission
 and each time they were severely beaten. Nevertheless they refused to pay bride-
 wealth to the chief, who then ceased to claim it. As a result of these wars the Kel
 Akarra clan became small and insignificant.

[669] A certain discord reigned within the Kel Ferouan group, but the drum-chief
 had the support of most clans of vassals who at his order would fight not only foreign
 Tuareg groups but also quell internal insurrections.

It is said that in the 19th century all Tuareg groups of Air and adjacent regions paid an annual tribute to the Kel Ferouan drum-chief as follows:- 634
651

Kel Ooui	50 Tuareg veils
Kel Fadei	1 she-camel, 1 riding camel
Echchikhen	two groups each giving 3 oryx hides
Kel Geres	1 horse with a saddle
Ioullemmeden	1 she-camel, 1 riding camel
Kel Allekot	150 kg of millet
Damergou	
Katsena	An amount of millet

The Tuareg name for these payments is *louise* meaning "annual tribute". The present drum-chief says that this tribute was given by the groups because all land belonged to the Kel Ferouan group. I think that the correctness of this is perhaps to be doubted, and that there may be other possible explanations:- 1) The payments may at some remote date have been made to the Sultan (Amenokal), but later collected by the Kel Ferouan drum-chief who became more important or, more possibly a) they may have been given to the drum-chief for protection. Thus annual duties, termed *louise* by the Northern Tuareg, were formerly given by foreign Tuareg groups to mighty chiefs of Ahaggar to avoid raids (cf. p. 113). [423]
[174]

The noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg claim that in the remote past the whole drum-group of Kel Fadei including its noble clan paid bride-wealth to the Kel Ferouan drum-chief as his vassals. This vassalship of the Kel Fadei is said to have ceased in the following way:- The Kel Ferouan drum-chief once sent a blacksmith to a Kel Fadei camp to claim a camel as his part of the bride-wealth from a marriage. But the newly-married man refused to give the camel and furthermore showed his contempt for the drum-chief by cutting off both ears of the blacksmith's riding camel. The blacksmith then returned to the Kel Ferouan drum-chief who became furious at this act. The chief immediately decided to go to the camp to take the bride-wealth camel himself. When he arrived in the Kel Fadei camp a battle developed which was lost by the drum-chief, who had underrated the strength of the Kel Fadei. He was badly wounded in one leg, but was taken well care of by the Kel Fadei so that after a time he could return safely to his own camp. Since then, it is told, the Kel Fadei Tuareg have not paid any bride-wealth to the Kel Ferouan. 173

The political system of the Kel Ferouan group may be characterised as simple, all political rights resting in the hands of the drum-chief. He had no particular ministers or deputies, but he would discuss important matters with noble Tuareg of his camp and with the chiefs of vassal clans. 634

It has been mentioned above that the Kel Akarra clan in the past had one 634
614

634 vassal clan as its particular vassals. A few vassal clans were also attached to the
 565 noble clan Kel Azel. I must admit however that I have not been able to gather
 very precise information about the relations between the Kel Azel and their vassal
 clans which were the following: Ijakarkaren, Imezzouren, Ikaoukan, Iforas, and
 Ikochechiten (a section of the Immezzilalen). The noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg say
 that these clans lived close to the Kel Azel to protect the latter clan, but they may
 also have had other obligations. For the noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg also had con-
 [463] stantly a few clans of vassals living close to them, and two of these (Iberdianen and
 Irobouren) are said to have carried out such work which could not be done properly
 [701] by black-skinned slaves, while one clan (Igendiunen) acted as permanent soldiers
 and protectors.

Rodd has some very interesting remarks on the position of the vassals (*Imghad*)
 114 as camel-herdsmen of the noble Tuareg. He says as follows:—"One of the functions
 565 of the Imghad is to take complete charge of and use the camels of their lords for
 614 long periods or to trade with them on their behalf. In such cases the Imghad act as
 the agents of the nobles, each one of whom has a right to ask the servile tribe as a
 whole to undertake these duties. But such obligations are imposed collectively on
 the tribe and not on any one Imghad. It is the custom to share the offspring of the
 [422] camels thus herded in equal shares, though in the event of any of the animals
 [692] dying whilst under the charge of the Imghad, the latter are collectively responsible
 for making good the loss, save in extenuating circumstances." (Rodd 1926a, p.
 141 f.). Rodd however also refers to the importance of slaves as camel-herdsmen
 [567] both among noble and vassal Tuareg (Rodd 1926a, p. 136). As far as my own
 information goes, camel-herding and caravan trading were in the past attended to
 by slaves, and the noble Tuareg in particular were slave-owners. I have not been
 able to confirm Rodd's statement that the vassals were formerly the camel-herds-
 men of the noble Tuareg, nor have I found any tradition of original cultural
 distinctions between noble Tuareg and vassals, although I have inquired much
 about this.

Rodd divides the vassal clan into three groups according to their origin:
 114 1) Vassals who were attached to noble clans already before the immigration to Air
 565 from the north; 2) Vassals whose ancestors lived in Air before the immigration of
 614 noble clans; 3) Vassals who have been subdued in fairly recent wars (Rodd 1926a,
 p. 138). The vassal clans of Air unfortunately have very little traditional knowledge
 about their origin, but at least some of them will claim that they came from the
 north as did all noble Tuareg. It is very probable that the noble Tuareg already
 before their immigration had vassal clans attached to them as it is claimed by the
 noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg. In other words: the political system of the Kel Ferouan
 Tuareg cannot be understood in complete isolation from political systems of the
 Northern Tuareg groups of Ahaggar and Tassili-n-Ajjer from where the Air Tuareg
 have emigrated.

The Federation of Ahaggar Tuareg

(Size of clans according to Lhote 1955, p. 225 ff. from statistics of 1949)

	Noble Clans	Vassal Clans	Ischhemaren Clans
<i>The Kel Rala Drum-Group</i>	<i>Kel Rala</i> 275 To-day many of them live in Tamesna. They intermarry with other noble clans, with the Ifogaa group, and sometimes with Arabs and their own vassal clans. But women of pure noble stock will not generally be allowed to marry vassal men. The Kel Rala women, like noble women of the Orafen (Tasili-n-Ajjer) and Kel Fernuan (Aïr), do not associate freely with people of other classes.	<i>Dag Rali</i> 386 <i>Aït Loaien</i> 400 <i>Afouh-en-Tahala</i> 585 <i>Relaidin</i> 40 <i>Iklan-en-Taousit</i> 500	<i>Ihrissoun Hada</i> 233 <i>Kel Injer</i> 176 <i>Kel Tafedest</i> 61 <i>Kel Immidir</i> 179 <i>Kel Tazoulet</i> 138
		<i>Ibetteaten</i> 129 <i>Iregenaten</i> 435 These two clans are not true vassals by origin. The Ibetteaten is said formerly to have had noble status and the Iregenaten descend matrilineally from the Ibetteaten, patrilineally from Arabs.	The Ischhemaren clans descend from mixed marriages between Arab men and Tuareg women or are Arabs who have become assimilated by the Tuareg. They are said formerly to have been the vassals of the noble Kel Ehan Mellen clan. The powerful Arab tribe of Tidikelt, the Ouled Ba Hamou, claims that they were originally their vassals.
<i>The Taitok Drum-Group</i>	<i>Taitok</i> 33 There are hardly any Tuareg of pure Taitok stock left in Ahaggar to-day. They are now in Tamesna together with their chief Mohamed ag Mohamed who possesses the drum. During a visit to Ahaggar 1954 he received as a gift 14 or 15 camels from his vassals still living in that region. Many vassals of the Taitok drum-group also now live in Tamesna. The Taitok and their vassals will frequently intermarry, and such mixed marriages were also quite common in the past.	<i>Kel Ahnet</i> 127 <i>Jouarouaren</i> 47 <i>Teghe-n-Efsi</i> 127 <i>Ikaouisen</i> 84 <i>Ikschhemaden</i> (now mixed with the Dag Rali clan of the Kel Rala drum-group).	<i>Kel I-n-Tounin</i> (about 20 tents in 1938).
		<i>Iyechchoumen</i> - a clan patrilineally related to the noble Taitok, matrilineally to the vassal clan of Kel Ahnet. In 1938 it comprised about 10 tents and 60 individuals.	

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	Noble Class		Vassal Class	Isékhemaren Class
162 565 614 631 <i>The Teghe-Mellet Drum-Group</i>	<i>Teghe Mellet</i>	33	<i>Kel Tarka</i> (part of the Alt Louien clan of the Kel Rêla drum-group).	<i>Kel Tarnit</i> 60 <i>Kel Ouhel</i> 70
<i>Noble Class Without Vassals</i>	<i>Kel Ehan Mellet</i>		The Isékhemaren class are said formerly to have been vassals of this clan.	
	<i>Ikadeim</i>		Very few in number and mainly living at the small cultivation centre of Tli.	

The Kel Rêla Drum-Group in Ahaggar.

[161] The Ahaggar Tuareg according to statistics from 1950 number 4,611 individuals
565 (Lhote 1955, p. 157) and comprise 26 clans. In addition to the noble class termed
614 *Thaggaren* (sing. *Ahaggar*), and the vassal class termed *Imyad*, (sing. *Amrid*) or *Kel*
Oulli (sing. *Agg Oulli*), there is also a class termed *Isékhemaren* (sing. *Asékhemar*), who
can be considered vassals of a somewhat different status. The religious class *Ineslemen*
(sing. *Anezlem*) is in Ahaggar represented by a few families without clan organiza-
tion.

614 There are five noble clans but only three of them have vassals. There are in
565 other words three drum-groups (*effebel*, pl. *effebelen*), namely those of Kel Rêla,
634 Taitok, and Teghe Mellet. The Kel Rêla group is by far the most important, and
its chief with the title of Amenokal is the supreme head of all three groups which
643 constitute a sort of federation named *tegehe*. In rare cases when the Tuareg of
Ahaggar joined forces against foreign Tuareg groups, e.g. the Tuareg of Tassili-n-
[701] Ajjer, the Amenokal was the war-leader of all three drum-groups. But in the past
he had often little authority over the two other drum-groups. For long periods of
the 19th century he had severe troubles with the Taitok, who had acquired a
practically independent position, and it seems as if he had no rights over the land
inhabited by the Taitok drum-group. The Amenokal as well as the two other
drum-chiefs (*Amgar*, pl. *Imyaren*) were elected by the vassals of their respective
655 drum-groups. It is true that the members of the noble clan had a certain influence,
614 but - contrary to former opinions on the matter - they did not have any direct voice
in elections. The Amenokal was and is ceremoniously installed by a Tuareg of the
Isékhemaren class who provides him with a new veil or turban. The two other
634 drum-chiefs should be installed in this way by the Amenokal, who also undertook
the installation of all vassal chiefs within his own drum-group. The installment of
vassal chiefs within the two other drum-groups were undertaken by their respective
drum-chiefs. In the present chapter I shall describe the drum-group of the Kel
Rêla in some detail.

[Text continues on p. 104]

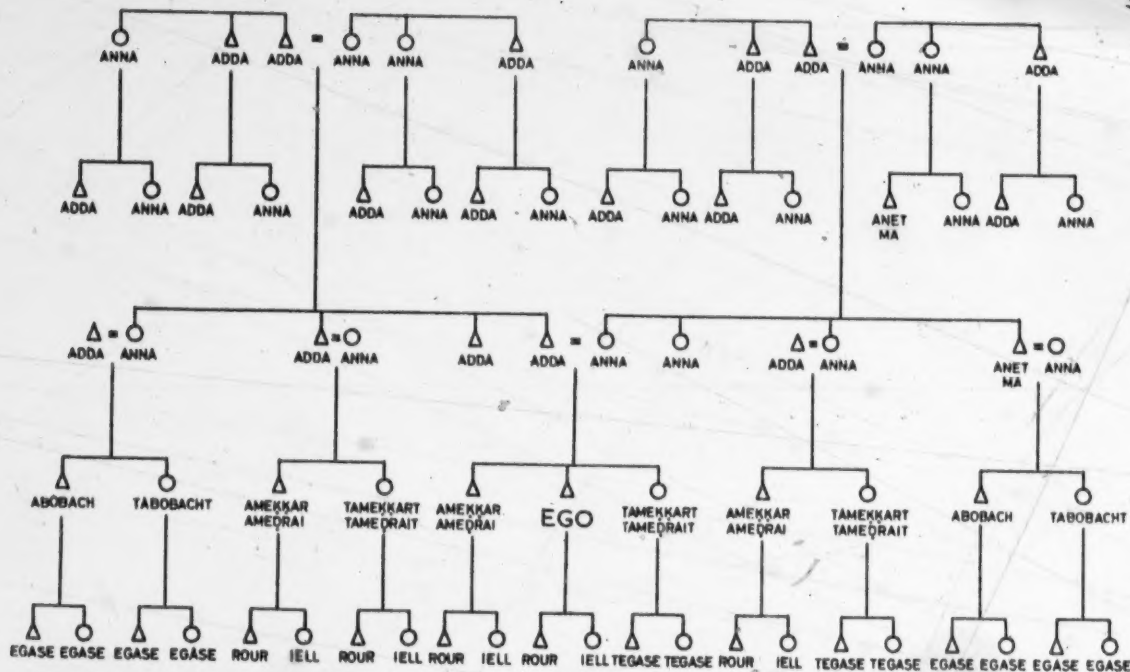


Fig. 8.—The kinship system of the Air Tuareg of the Kel Ferouan drum-group. Some of the kinship terms cannot be used without affixes of possessive pronouns. The meaning of the terms is as follows:— ADDA = father; ANNA = mother; ANET MA (correctly ANET MA) = mother's brother; AMEKKAR (TAMEKKART) = elder brother (sister); AMEDRAI (TAMEDRAIT) = younger brother (sister); ABOBACH (TABOBACHT) = cross-cousin; ROUR = son; IELL = daughter; TEGASE = sister's child; EGASE = child of cross-cousin. Children of all persons termed ROUR, IELL, TEGASE, and EGASE are known as AJAOU = child's child. For EGO female TEGASE and EGASE are substituted with the terms for children (ROUR, IELL). Classificatory terms are not generally used for address, but children will address many kinmen of ascending generations as "father" and "mother".

Further information on Tuareg kinship is given fig. 9.

The Ahaggar Tuareg cannot generally trace the exact genealogical relationship between all members of a clan termed *taouit* as it is in Air. The noble Kel Rela (275 individuals) claim descent from a common ancestress named Kella, who lived seven generations ago. The Dag Rali (386), one of the vassal clans, seems to consist of two matrilineages of seven generations each. The two matrilineages are said to be related to each other, but their exact relationship is unknown. The very numerous vassal clan Agouh-en-Techle (585) falls into three sub-clans claiming common matrilineal descent. One of these sub-clans, the Isandan, is identical with a matrilineage of six generations, whereto is grafted a smaller matrilineage of four generations related to the Ibettenaten clan. 614 [162] [565] [613] [614]

Briggs has recently stated that previous authors have attached too much importance to Tuareg matriarchy (Briggs 1958, p. 87), and I agree with his statement. The fact that the Tuareg in important cases acknowledge the matrilineal principle has veiled the other fact that they have patrilineal rules, which are probably genuine to Tuareg social structure. But it must be admitted that influence from Islam and the Arabs makes the study of traditional social structure difficult. 114 [611] [177]

The Tuareg of Ahaggar - like those of Air - have terms which in meaning are identical with matrilineage (*tesa* = "the stomach") and patrilineage (*arouri* = "the back"). They follow the matrilineal principle in specific cases, the patrilineal in others, while for rules of residence both principles are acknowledged as will be described below. Traditionally the matrilineal principle is valid for: - 1) succession to chieftainship, 2) succession to land rights, 3) succession to property considered indivisible, 4) in noble clans it is valid for succession to rights and obligations towards vassals, and in vassal clans for rights and obligations towards noble Tuareg. 611 [591] [428] [631]

Islamic rules are valid for inheritance of individually owned property. Children inherit what is left by their parents in such a way that a son gets a portion twice as big as that allotted to a daughter. A man cannot inherit the property individually owned by his mother's brother, whom he can succeed in the above mentioned respects, whereas he can inherit from more distant patrilineal kinsmen. The acknowledgement of the paternal line for inheritance is expressed in the general rule that any person adopts his father's camel-brand and earmarks for other domestic animals. This rule may be pre-Islamic. It may also be a pre-Islamic trait that most Tuareg have much better knowledge of their patrilineage than of their matrilineage. 428 [422] [174]

Clans are predominantly endogamous, but there are marriages between people of different clans, and we can adequately use such unions to illustrate the rather complicated rule of residence: - A man will live together with his father in the territory of his clan as long as his father is alive, while after his father's death he will take up residence in the territory of his mother's clan, to which he himself belongs, and camp there together with his matrilineal kinsmen. A single death may in fact give rise to the change of territory and camp of a great many people, as is illustrated in fig. 10. 614 [591] [768]

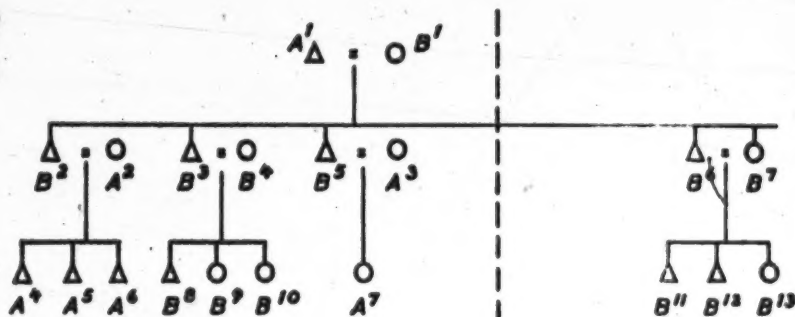
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Fig. 10.—Illustration of the rule of residence for persons descending from a man of the Agouh-en-Tehele clan (A^1) and a woman of the Dag Rali clan (B^1).

People living with the Agouh-en-Tehele clan to which all A-persons belong.

At the death of A^1 of the Agouh-en-Tehele clan all persons will settle in the territory of the Dag Rali clan with maternal kinsmen of B^1 , and they will remain there also after the death of B^1 .

At the death of B^1 his wife A^2 and her children A^3 , A^4 will go to her father or maternal kinsmen of the Agouh-en-Tehele clan as will be the case with A^5 and her child A^6 at the death of B^2 . At the death of B^3 his wife B^4 and children B^5 – B^6 will remain with the Dag Rali.

People living with the Dag Rali clan to which all B-persons belong.

If B^1 dies while A^1 is still alive, B^2 and her children B^3 , B^4 will go back to the camp of A^1 in the Agouh-en-Tehele territory. After the death of A^1 they will return to the Dag Rali territory to join the camp of B^5 , B^6 , and B^7 .

[614] If for instance B^2 kills a man of a third clan (e.g. the Ait Loaien) the Agouh-en-Tehele and the
[682] Dag Rali clans are both responsible for the payment of blood-wealth as long as A^1 is alive and B^1 lives with the Agouh-en-Tehele clan. If A^1 has died and B^1 consequently lives with the Dag Rali, this latter clan alone will be responsible for the payment of blood-wealth.

582 The matrilineal and patrilineal rules applied among the Ahaggar Tuareg bring us to a consideration of marriage. In Ahaggar as in Air the traditional type of preferential mating no doubt is that with a cross-cousin, and cross-cousin marriage is symmetrical although a mother's brother's daughter is said to be the ideal spouse. This is not only stated by Tuareg particularly versed in their native customs. It is also proved by certain usages connected with marriage, and there are in fact many marriages of this type. But cross-cousin marriage although traditionally the preferential type of mating is apparently not the most common type of marriage. For many Tuareg claim that the very best is to marry a mother's sister's daughter (that is a classificatory sister), or a mother's sister's daughter's daughter (that is a classificatory sister's daughter). My statistical material, which is not very comprehensive, seems

to indicate that the two latter types of marriage are more common than are marriages with cross-cousins:- 582

Mother's brother's daughter.....	3
Father's sister's daughter.....	7
Classificatory cross-cousins.....	6
Mother's sister's daughter.....	11
Mother's sister's daughter's daughter.....	9
Other kinswomen.....	8

Marriages total... 44

The Tuareg claim marriages with a maternal cousin or with her daughter to be superior to cross-cousin marriage because a man and his father will then belong to the same matrilineage.

The clans are divided into sections. There are four of these in the Dag Rali clan and eight in the three sub-clans of the Agouh-en-Tchele. When grazing is good the sections are identical with camps of 10-20 tents, which otherwise are split up in minor camps of 2-7 tents. A small camp generally consists of an extended family which co-operates in goat-herding and in various other tasks, although all animals are individually owned and every tent or household is self-supporting. The big camps formed during good grazing are made up of three or four small camps consisting of extended families related to each other. But the small camps within the bigger camps remain co-operative in goat-breeding, and there is generally a distance of 50-100 metres between each in order that their flocks shall not mix. When the small camps join each other and form bigger camps under favourable grazing conditions, it is not only because kinsmen appreciate each other's company, but also because the big camp is a co-operative unit in camel-breeding and caravan trading, for which the labour cannot be provided by a goat-herding camp. In case the small goat-herding units cannot remain together they camp so close to each other that contact between them is comparatively easy. A big camp will never correspond to a lineage, but will comprise part of a matrilineage of three to five generations plus people attached to the camp through their fathers and husbands according to the rules of residence outlined above (cf. fig. 11). A big camp or section has a leader, who with the title of *Khalifa* may also be the representative of the section in relation to the clan chief (*Amgar*). These *khalifas* are not necessarily chosen according to any rule of descent, but ideally the succession is matrilineal as it is for clan chiefs.

The kinship system in Ahaggar is different from that in Air (fig. 8-9), but the rules of kinship behaviour are very much the same. Joking relationship between cross-cousins, and joking and avoidance between in-laws are practised also in Ahaggar. But joking with a mother's brother's wife seems to be unknown in most clans. [Text continues on p. 108]

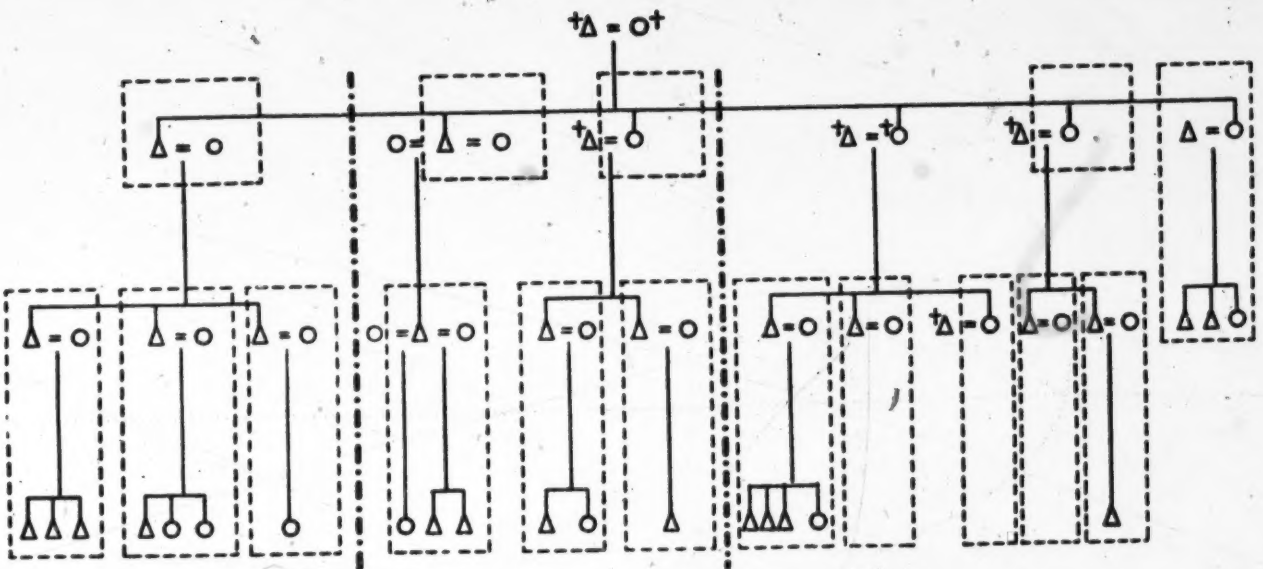


Fig. 11.—The section camp of the Kel Azernan (the Isandan sub-clan of the Agouh-en-Tebile clan). The camp comprises three goat-herding units of four, five, and seven tents forming three independent camps in case of dry pasture. When grazing is good the three goat-herding camps which co-operate in camel-herding and caravan trading will camp on the same spot with a small distance between each in order that the flocks of the three units shall not mix. — The household to the extreme right does not follow the general rule of residence illustrated fig. 10. Its members accordingly should camp together with the husband's family, which, however, lives in Air whence he has emigrated to Ahaggar.

Sub-Areas of the Territory of the Agouh-en-Tehete Clan.

(The clan is divided into three sub-clans named Kel Tarhaouhaout, Isandan, and Kel Rafia).

Tenants	Value of Sub-Area	Annual Land-Rent to the Amenokal
SAMA-ALATOKH, Chief of the Agouh-en-Tehete, Chief of the sub-clan Kel Tarhaouhaout, Leader of the section named Kel Tôles.	Cultivation grounds at Tarhaouhaout and In Dalege. Hunting of barbary sheep. Wild donkeys for domestication.	2 donkeys
OMANA, Khalifa of the Ikenkaren section of the Kel Tarhaouhaout sub-clan.	Hunting of barbary sheep. Collecting of wild seeds.	3 goats
ABERGIALI, Khalifa of the Kel Tarien section of the Kel Tarhaouhaout sub-clan.	Hunting of barbary sheep.	2 goats
KHOFA of the Kel Tarien section of the Kel Tarhaouhaout sub-clan. No position as leader.	Cultivation grounds at Inagriouel and In Deledje. Hunting of barbary sheep. Wild donkeys.	2 donkeys
DEINI, Chief of the Kel Rafia sub-clan.	No particular value.	No land-rent.
AKAOUALI, Chief of the Isandan sub-clan, Leader of the Kel Afrahaouhine section.	Cultivation grounds at Tahifet. Hunting of barbary sheep. Wild donkeys.	1 donkey
HANOU, Khalifa of the Kel Aernian section of the Isandan sub-clan.	Cultivation grounds at Tamanraset. In the past wild donkeys.	1 donkey

KHOSENI, Khalifa of the Relaidin now attached to the Agouh-en-Tehete clan.

Khoseni is in command of this area to which all members of the Relaidin have equal rights. Each of them gives two goats annually to the Amenokal.

clans. There are in Ahaggar as in Air joking relationships between Tuareg of different classes, but the two vassal clans considered the oldest in the Kel Rela drum-group, the Dag Ball and the Ait Loaien, will never joke with people of other classes. Other vassal clans and in particular the Agouh-en-Tehete have joking with noble clans and also with clans of the Isekhemaren class. Between the Agouh-en-Tehete and the Isekhemaren clans a fixed rule of gift-exchange is observed when they visit each other. When the Agouh-en-Tehete people come to the Isekhemaren they must receive dates, while meat must be given to the Isekhemaren visiting the Agouh-en-Tehete. It should be noted in this context that relatives who practise joking and avoidance frequently exchange gifts although in such cases there are no fixed rules for the kind of objects given.

[Text continues on p.110]

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Sub-Areas of the Territory of the Dag Rali Clan.

(The clan is divided into two matrilineages: 1) the Dag Rali proper comprising most members of the Kel Tamanrasset and the Kel Terhananet sections, 2) the Imemliten comprising most members of the Kel Hirhafok and the Kel Tihhart sections.)

Tenants	Name and Value of Sub-Area	Land-Rent to the Amenokal
DANGOCHI, Clan chief belonging to the Kel Tamanrasset section. Rights to this subarea is not necessarily vested in the chief.	ISEKRAM Hunting of barbary sheep. - (For every four or five barbary sheep killed one is given to the tenant).	2 goats
JERKIE, of the Kel Tamanrasset section.	TADJEMART No particular value.	2 water bags, 1 rope of goat's hair.
AMMA, of the Kel Terhananet section	ARECHCHOUM No particular value.	2 water bags, 1 rope of goat's hair.
KHABTE, of the Kel Tamanrasset section. ARKASSEN, of the Kel Terhananet section.	IN DALADJ Hunting of barbary sheep. Wild donkeys.	1 donkey
AFARAK, of the Kel Hirhafok section.	AKALARAREN Hunting of barbary sheep.	Unknown.
BOUSKEAS & DEMONI, two brothers of the Kel Tihhart section.	TAHAT Important hunting ground for barbary sheep, which are protected for three months. Domestic animals never graze in this area.	Formerly three barbary sheep (present rent unknown).
DANGOCHI, Clan chief representing the two sections of Kel Tamanrasset and Kel Terhananet.	ABELESSA A very extended area comprising the village of Abelessa and many other agricultural settlements.	No land-rent as the Amenokal receives dues from crops of every garden in this area.
DANGOCHI, Clan chief representing the two sections of Kel Tamanrasset and Kel Terhananet. Land-rent is paid collectively by members of the two sections.	TAESSA Important hunting ground for barbary sheep. - Domestic animals are never allowed to graze in this sub-area, and barbary sheep are protected for three months every year.	1 donkey (formerly four barbary sheep) (In this particular case an annual land-rent comprising two hides of barbary sheep (formerly two barbary sheep) is also given to Dangochi as clan chief).

It is stated in literature that clan territories are grazing grounds reserved exclusively for clan members. Lhote says that nobody has the right to graze flocks and herds in the territories of foreign clans without permission from their chiefs or from the Amenokal (Lhote 1933, p. 279). Kilian also mentions that clan territories are grazing grounds (Kilian 1923, p. 132), and in a study by Malaurie there is a sketch-map of some of the more important territories (Malaurie 1953, p. 339). Nowadays foreign camps are very frequently found in the territory of a clan, and it is said that this might also happen in the past. Possibly the territory of a clan was once reserved as grazing grounds for its members, but clan territories were and are divided into sub-areas the rights to which generally are vested in individual tenants. These sub-areas may be valuable grazing grounds, but most of them have an economic value in other respects also. Some are important hunting grounds for barbary sheep or for the catching of wild donkeys for domestication, others have a value for collecting wild seeds, or they have soil and water suitable for irrigation agriculture. A few areas have all these qualities. I shall briefly mention the sub-areas of the two vassal clans Agouh-en-Tehele and Dag Bali. In the lists (p. 108 f.) are indicated the tenants, the value of their sub-areas, and the annual land-rent paid to the Amenokal, who is the true master of the land inhabited by clans of his drum-group.

For the land-rent (*charr-a-amerdal*) paid to the Amenokal the tenants obtain the following rights over their sub-areas:-

1) They can forbid grazing within their area or in part of it in order that plants may germinate and become fully developed. For plants valuable exclusively for grazing domestic animals the period of protection will be up to two months, but certain plants which have seeds valuable for collecting are protected for three months.

2) They have the right to half of all wild donkeys caught in their areas.

3) They have the right to part of all barbary sheep killed. Foucauld says that in certain hunting grounds the hide and the meat of a slain animal must be given to the tenant while the hunter can keep only the head, the paunch, and the intestines (Foucauld 1922, p. 81. - Foley 1930, p. 43f.). My own information agrees with Lhote's statement that the tenants in general have the right to the hide, the head, and half the meat (Lhote 1933, p. 284), but for certain hunting grounds there are different rules (cf. list p. 109).

4) The tenants have the right to dues from the crops of every garden, but for sub-areas of the Dag Bali clan they are now given to the Amenokal. In the Agouh-en-Tehele clan the tenants receive 10 kg per garden from a crop of wheat and barley (grown in winter), 10 kg from a crop of millet (grown in summer), and 4 kg from a crop of tomatoes.

Should the rights of tenants be violated, the offenders will be fined by the Amenokal, and the indemnity belongs to him and not to the tenant. In the past there was a fixed indemnity of three goats for violation of protected pastures.

Ahaggar

[683] Nowadays the price is determined by the Amenokal. When a tenant dies his rights
 428 and obligations should ideally be taken over by a maternal kinsmen. Traditionally
 614 the usufructs of a sub-area are reserved for people of the same matrilineage or
 section as the tenant, but should the tenant be identical with the chief of the whole
 clan they belong to all clan members. These traditional rules, however, do not
 [178] seem to be observed very strictly nowadays except for hunting of barbary sheep
 114 in certain areas. Lhote is wrong in stating that the chief of the clan has the right
 423 to forbid grazing and protect pastures in the whole clan territory (Lhote 1955, p.
 279). In the two clans here described this right is invariably vested in the tenants
 of sub-areas.

As the supreme judge of his drum-group the Amenokal can claim various
 643 indemnities (*ediet*) among which have just been mentioned those paid for violation
 692 of the rights of his land-tenants. In case of adultery, for instance, the Amenokal can
 [684] claim three camels from the seducer and one camel from the unfaithful wife. If a
 man catches his wife committing adultery he has the right to kill her as well as the
 seducer on the spot, and formerly the families of persons thus killed had no right
 682 to revenge or blood-wealth. Neither was blood-wealth paid in case of murder
 628 within the clan, but the Amenokal might then claim an indemnity from the murder-
 692 er. When the murderer and the person killed were from different clans, blood-
 643 wealth had to be paid to the family of the slain man by the kinsmen of the murderer.
 The Amenokal could not deny his subjects the right of revenge if they refused to
 accept blood-wealth, and if blood-wealth was paid he had no right to any part
 from it. Blood-wealth was fixed at one hundred she-camels for a slain man and
 fifty she-camels for a woman, but it may be doubted whether so many camels were
 [648] ever paid. Revenge and blood-wealth have been abolished by the French admin-
 692 istration which has given the Amenokal more power over his subjects than he had
 178 in the past. To-day the authority of the Amenokal is almost unlimited. If, for
 643 instance, a man will not allow his son to marry the woman he likes, the son may go
 to the Amenokal and ask him whether he considers the marriage suitable, and if
 [584] the Amenokal agrees the father will have to yield to his son. If a man descending
 from parents of different clans continues to live together with people of his father's
 [591] clan after his father's death, the chief of his mother's clan may complain to the
 Amenokal, who will then order the man to take up residence with his maternal
 kinsmen. Nowadays the Amenokal can decide on the most personal problems of
 his subjects, and he is constantly visited by many Tuareg desirous of obtaining his
 advice.

643 In the past the Tuareg of the Kel Rela drum-group are said frequently to have
 shown disobedient to the Amenokal. But the vassals would generally support him
 [701] when he organized raids against other Tuareg as the war-leader of the Kel Rela
 [727] group. The Amenokal had the right to a tribute named *abellag* comprising half
 of all booty taken by vassals of his drum-group. The vassals were allowed to engage
 [721] in raiding without his consent, but he was the one who decided on war and large-
 scale raiding.

scale raiding. He would discuss all important matters with vassal chiefs and with his noble deputies known as *Khalifas*. At present the Amenokal has three *Khalifas* two of whom live in his camp, while the third is his representative in Tamesna, where many Tuareg of his drum-group live. 643
[645]

The Amenokal never had the right to part of the bride-wealth from marriages among his vassals, nor did he receive a camel at the death of a vassal as was customary for the drum-chief of the Kel Ferouan in Air. The Amenokal still has the right to the riding camel of any deceased vassal chief within his drum-group, but it should here be mentioned that the chief of the very important vassal clan, the Dag Rali, has the right to one of the Amenokal's riding camels on the latter's death. [583]
[651]
[428]

As the representative of the Kel Rala drum-group the Amenokal is in certain cases entitled to property owned individually by his subjects. When a person dies without children or paternal kinsmen, his fortune is divided into six parts one part of which goes to his mother (or his mother's mother) while the remaining five parts are given to the Amenokal. In case the deceased person has no mother or mother's mother alive, the whole fortune of livestock is taken over by the Amenokal. He, however, will not himself make any use of the animals, but will leave them in the clan to which the deceased person belonged. They will there be under the supervision of the clan chief, who also has usufructs of them. Animals taken over by the Amenokal in this way are known as *chere oua n effebel* ("the fortune of the drum-group"), or *chere oua n boutelma* ("the fortune of the public"). 428
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[422]

The vassal clans of the Kel Rala drum-group pay an annual tribute known as *tiousse* to the Amenokal. The size of this payment varies from one clan to another. It is normally collected by the clan chiefs who send it to the Amenokal, but the three subclans of the Agouh-en-Tehele pay their *tiousse* separately as follows: 643
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1) The Kel Tarhaouhaout sub-clan: 600 kg of millet and, when grazing is good, 3 goats and 13 kg of butter. The man who brings this payment to the Amenokal is rewarded with a gift of 13 metres of cotton. 2) The Isandan sub-clan: 300 kg of millet and, when grazing is good, 2 goats and 8 kg of butter. The man who brings this receives a gift of 11.5 metres of cotton. 3) The Kel Rafia sub-clan: Like the payments from the Isandan.

The whole Dag Rali clan pays its *tiousse* as follows:— 12 bags of millet corresponding to 6 camel-loads are given to the clan chief, who will send 10 bags to the Amenokal, and keep two for himself. In case of good grazing the whole clan gives 10 goats and 6 containers of butter to the Amenokal.

One vassal clan, the Ait Loalen, does not make its *tiousse* payment to the Amenokal but to a Tuareg of the Inemba Kel Emopi section of the Kel Rala. According to Lhote a certain family among the Dag Rali makes an annual payment to a noble Tuareg of the Inemba Kel Tahat section (Lhote 1953, p. 224). It is in fact possible that the Amenokal nowadays receives *tiousse* payments which ought to be made to other noble Tuareg. This I imply from the information from a man who told me that the Isandan sub-clan according to traditional rules should pay *tiousse* to a 565
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565 Tuareg of the Iboglan section of the Kel Rela clan, but as he now lives outside of
614 Ahaggar the payment is made to the Amenokal.

643 In the past certain vassal clans or matrilineages of clans paid their tiousse to
651 noble Kel Rela Tuareg other than the Amenokal, while apparently other clans or
lineages gave tiousse both to the Amenokal and to other Tuareg of the Kel Rela
clan. But according to my investigations this did not apply to vassals of the Isekke-
maren clan, who should pay tiousse to the Amenokal only. Duveyrier states that
three Kel Rela sections (the Iboglan, the Inemba Kel Tahat, and the Inemba Kel
Emori) each had their particular vassals constituting clans or parts of clans (Du-
veyrier 1864, p. 375 ff.). Benhazera gives a more detailed account of relations be-
tween noble and vassal Tuareg. According to him most vassal clans paid tiousse to
the Amenokal, but some clans or parts of them also gave this tribute to other noble
Tuareg. And apparently there might within one and the same noble section be
several Tuareg who had their individual vassals from whom they received tiousse
payments (Benhazera 1908, p. 139 ff.).

Whole groups of Tuareg outside of Ahaggar also paid an annual tribute known
as tiousse to the Amenokal or to other prominent noble Tuareg of Ahaggar in order
to avoid raiding by the Ahaggar Tuareg. Thus the Adrar-n-Iforas Tuareg (the
579 Kel Adrar) gave a skin tent and a camel annually to the Amenokal, but in spite of
such annual tributes foreign Tuareg groups were frequently raided. If foreign
Tuareg paying tiousse to the Amenokal were raided by people of Ahaggar, the
Amenokal, according to Foucauld, had the right to a tribute named *ennehel*, about
one third of the booty taken, to be paid him by all raiders whether noble or vassals.
But raiders who were vassals of the Amenokal's drum-group should also give him
half of the booty left when one third had been given. If the foreign group raided
complained to the Amenokal to whom they paid tiousse for protection, he might
return some of the animals taken, but never all (Foucauld 1951-52, III, p. 1347f.).

The tiousse paid to the Amenokal and other noble Tuareg by their vassals was
565 also made in order that they should not be attacked or exploited by other Tuareg.
614 But the relation (*temaɣlalt* literally meaning "the root of the nail") between vassals
651 and individual noble Tuareg had also an economic function, and was apparently
of great value to both noble and vassal Tuareg. To make this clear I shall now
briefly return to ecology.

In Ahaggar camels and goats are extremely complementary to one another.
233 The camel supplies the Tuareg with milk, but with very few other products. And
511 the Tuareg cannot always get milk from their she-camels which yield very little
[234] when pastures are dry. When grazing is good, camel's milk is important for food,
[262] but it is not well fitted for churning butter, and cannot be used for cheese. Camels
are occasionally killed, but as their meat is not very suitable for drying, the Ahaggar
[574] Tuareg will kill camels to utilize their meat only when many people come together,
as for instance at a marriage. Camel's hide is not very important in Tuareg craft,
[281] as tanning is not practised, and Tuareg camels have little hair which is used only
[237] for the manufacture of a few insignificant objects.

for the manufacture of a few insignificant objects. To most Ahaggar Tuareg the camels have little direct economic value. But in raids of the past camels were very valuable riding animals, and they were then as now extremely important for caravan trading, which provides the Tuareg with most of their vegetable food. [233] [511] [492] [439]

The economic role of goat-breeding is very different. Goat-products play a very comprehensive part in Tuareg nourishment. Goat's milk is not only drunk, but is also made into butter and cheese which can easily be stored. Goat's meat is superior to camel's meat, and one goat does not contain more meat than can be eaten quickly by the members of a normal household. Furthermore goats are very important in Tuareg craft; tents, waterbags, and containers for different sorts of liquid and solid food are made predominantly from their skin, which was formerly also employed for whole garments. Goat's hair is extremely useful as material for ropes with which domestic animals are tethered, camel-loads are fastened, and the like. [234] [262] [291] [291] [283]

Pastoral Tuareg could not survive in Ahaggar without goats. They might be able to subsist without camels, which can be replaced by donkeys as beasts of burden. But camels make life much easier to the Ahaggar Tuareg, who nowadays as in the past base their economy mainly on camels and goats. I think it is fairly correct to say that most Ahaggar Tuareg get their milk-food from goats, their vegetable food from caravan trading by camels.

Formerly the true vassal Tuareg of Ahaggar were not allowed to possess camels, which were owned exclusively by noble Tuareg. Foucauld says that 100-150 years ago the vassals had no camels, but he does not mention his source of information (Foucauld 1951-52, II, p. 534). But it is confirmed by many Tuareg that throughout the 19th century the vassals had not many camels, while they were rich in goats of which the noble Tuareg had very few. Goat products were given to noble Tuareg by vassals. As mentioned, goats and butter form part of the tiousse payments to the Amenokal, and were also an important part of the tiousse paid to other noble Tuareg of the Kel Rela. But the noble Tuareg who were masters of the small temazlalt-units within the drum-group could apparently claim practically whatever they wanted from their vassals. The noble Tuareg, Duveyrier says, in reality had all rights over their vassals' property. But they were themselves interested in having rich vassals, and would not discourage them by claiming too much. When in need of riding camels the noble Tuareg could freely take animals from their vassals. The vassals had also an obligation to feed their noble lords, who at certain times would camp among them (Duveyrier 1864, p. 334ff.). This is also stated by Benhazera, but he claims that the vassals would not necessarily give everything demanded by noble Tuareg (Benhazera 1908, p. 34). The noble Tuareg of to-day have not ceased to claim food products and the like from their vassals. Poor noble Tuareg frequently ask gifts from their vassals, and there are even noble Tuareg who temporarily camp close to rich vassals from whom they acquire part of their food. Vassals may also lend their she-camels to noble Tuareg, who will return the animals when milk-yielding stops, and this is considered an old privilege of the nobility. [422] [565] [114] [565] [651] [421] [431]

565 The noble Tuareg may ask vassals to render them minor services as, for instance,
 651 to guard domestic animals or to look for animals lost in the desert, and one noble
 Tuareg told me that he had camels guarded by vassals; this was also practiced in
 the past. But nowadays the noble Tuareg have no rights over their vassals. The
 [178] vassals may refuse any gift or service demanded by noble Tuareg, and there are
 [789] even noble Tuareg who wear amulettes which are believed to induce vassals to
 give the things wanted.

565 It is evident that it was very profitable for noble Tuareg to have vassals, but
 these had also many advantages from their relation to noble masters. The nobility
 [721] formed a particular class of warriors and raiders who were constantly roaming the
 country looking for enemies. They protected the caravan roads, and allowed the
 vassals to use their camels on trading expeditions. The noble Tuareg would also
 [422] leave a surplus of their livestock among the vassals who had usufructs of these
 animals.

The master of a temazlait-relation might ask his vassals to follow him on raids,
 but he could not summon them for warfare. This right belonged exclusively to the
 [643] Amenokal, who would also receive *abellag* or half of the booty taken by all vassals
 [721] of his drum-group. It is interesting to note, however, that if vassals borrowed for
 [426] raiding riding camels from their noble masters, the latter received a tribute also
 known as *abellag*, comprising half of the booty left when one half had already been
 given to the Amenokal. The temazlait-masters were apparently without any judicial
 [692] authority, which rested in the hands of the Amenokal. We may say that the smaller
 units within the drum-group – the temazlait-relations – were predominantly
 economic units, but structurally they had traits in common with the political unit,
 the drum-group.

The Origin of Tuareg Political Systems.

565 This concluding chapter on the origin of Tuareg political systems can adequately
 192 open with an analysis of the terms for the classes here referred to as noble and
 vassal Tuareg.

In Air as well as in other Southern Tuareg groups all Tuareg whatever their
 social status, are sometimes known as *Imacheren* (sing. *Amacher*), but correctly
 this word should be used only for Tuareg of the noble class. Nicolas says that the
 word refers to such qualities as "vaillance" and "bravade" (Nicolas 1950a, p.
 188f.). In Northern Tuareg dialect the equivalent word is *Imohar* (sing. *Amahar*).
 It is used for both noble and vassal Tuareg, and is probably derived from the verb
ahar meaning "to raid" or "to plunder" (Duveyrier 1864, p. 318. – Foucauld 1951-
 52, II, p. 665-674. – Prasse 1959, p. 200). Among the Northern Tuareg it may
 originally have been used for "noble Tuareg", who nowadays both in Ahaggar and
 in Tassili-n-Ajjer are known as *Ihaggaren* (sing. *Ahaggar*). It is very possible that
 this latter word is identical with *Houara* – a common name for several Berber tribes

Aggar

173 is recognized by many vassal Tuareg, but they claim their ancestress Takama to
565 be Ti-n-Hinan's younger sister and not her servant.

The other tradition, told mainly among vassals, claims that the oldest inhabitants of Ahaggar were the Isebeten just mentioned. They were goat-breeders and hunters in the mountains, and also bred donkeys. Some Tuareg say that the Isebeten had no tents, but lived in mountain caves. From these pagan Berber-speaking people descend the oldest vassal clans (the Dag Rali and the Ait Loaïen). The noble clans came to the country at a much later date. They introduced the camel which made them masters of the country. They conquered the Isebeten, and made them their vassals.

[114] I agree with Foucauld, quoted above, that the latter tradition may contain an important element of historical truth. It explains the origin of vassalship in a logical way, and is in agreement with our linguistic analysis and the fact that vassals in the past were mainly goat-breeders who had no right to possess camels.

184 Even to-day there is a certain cultural distinction between noble Tuareg and
565 vassals of Ahaggar. Rich noble Tuareg will whenever possible subsist on camel's
492 milk, while vassals although they may be rich in camels will ascribe much import-
[234] ance to the breeding of goats and the manufacture of butter and cheese. The noble Tuareg will use camels for the transportation of tents during nomadic migrations, while even rich vassals will generally use donkeys. Noble women possess special riding saddles for camels, while such saddles are unknown in the class of true vassals. Vassal women will not generally mount camels but donkeys which are never mounted by noble women.

184 Noble Tuareg and vassals of Ahaggar are culturally different in other respects,
565 and I attach a particular importance to the following distinctions:- 1) In noble
[583] clans bride-wealth is seven camels, in vassal clans one to three camels which may be substituted with goats. Among vassals of Tassili-n-Ajjer bride-wealth is 25-30 goats. 2) The noble Tuareg brand camels and donkeys with a red-hot iron, whereas
[422] true vassals use earmarks for donkeys as for goats. Though in one vassal clan, the Dag Rali, donkeys are marked in both ways. 3) Among noble Tuareg the tent belongs to the husband, among vassals it is owned by the wife. 4) The noble
[342] Tuareg frequently use a tent with a central T-shaped post - that is a post on the top of which is placed a very short crossbar to support the sheet of skins sewn together. Although such posts may occasionally be used in vassal tents, they are said to be specific to the tents used by noble Tuareg.

[614] These characteristics of noble Tuareg in Ahaggar are found also in the camel-
[173] breeding clan Iregenaten of Tamesna. This clan is said to descend from mixed marriages between Tuareg women of the Ibettenaten clan, said to be of noble origin, and Arab men. This is stated in literature (Lhote 1955, p. 238f. - Briggs 1958, p. 100) and confirmed to me by Iregenaten Tuareg met in Air.

342 Various sub-types of Tuareg skin tents with T-shaped posts are frequently
184 referred to in literature on the Northern Tuareg (Feilberg 1944, p. 139ff. - Lhote

1947, p. 38f., phot. 13, p. 33, p. 117. - Foucauld 1931-32, I, p. 247ff. - Moberg 1927, photographs p. 229 & 257). Among the Southern Tuareg T-shaped posts are used in Air, where, according to my inquiries, they are found notably among the Kel Tedale, the Ikaskazan, and the Kel Fadel - Tuareg who have immigrated fairly recently from the North and are noble or predominantly noble by origin. Air tents with T-shaped posts are published by Lhote and Chudeau (Lhote 1947, fig. 4 p. 39, photo 50 p. 81. - Chudeau 1909, pl. VIII p. 62). T-shaped posts are also said to occur among the Kel Geres, and they are common in skin tents of the Kel Dinnik (Eastern Ioullemmeden) from where detailed descriptions are given by Nicolas (Nicolas 1938, p. 54ff.; 1950a, p. 153ff., p. VIII.). For other Southern Tuareg there seem to be no reliable information on the use of T-shaped posts in skin tents.

The central T-shaped posts in Tuareg skin tents may probably be considered as related to similar posts in certain black tents (cf. Feilberg 1944, p. 143). This is interesting particularly when viewed in connection with Feilberg's theory that there may perhaps be a certain connection between the black tent and the one-humped camel or dromedary because of approximately similar distributions, and because camels and black tents seem to have arrived in North-Western Africa about the beginning of the Christian era (Feilberg 1944, p. 117, 225ff.) - a view which has also been accepted by Hatt (Hatt 1944-45, p. 260). Obviously a theory connecting camels and black tents in Northern Africa fits very well with our assumption that the camel was introduced to Ahaggar by noble Tuareg among whom we also find the use of central T-shaped posts characteristic of certain black tents. Accordingly we have to test two theories: - 1) The theory that T-shaped posts of Tuareg skin-tents are in fact derived from similar constructions of black tents, and 2) the theory that camels and black tents are historically connected in Northern Africa.

I think it can be proved that T-shaped posts of Tuareg skin tents are derived from similar elements in black tents, and my arguments are the following: -

1) The Tuareg live in contact with Arab pastoralists who have black tents. It is stated in literature that black tents are common among the Northern Tuareg (Zeltner 1914, p. 364. - Campbell 1928, p. 247), but this is not correct. It is true, however, as already mentioned by Duveyrier, that black tents are used by some Northern Tuareg (Duveyrier 1864, p. 403f.). But as far as my knowledge goes they occur only among the northernmost Kel Ajjer, the Iforas clans, who belong to the religious Ineslemen class and by some Tuareg are claimed to be noble. Black tents seem to be used occasionally in the south by Tuareg who live in close contact with Arabs. But these Tuareg apparently use black tents only when travelling, and not in ordinary camps (Delafosse 1912, I, p. 334). Black tents are thus adopted by a few Tuareg, and many Tuareg of the north and the south-west have contact with Arab and Moorish black tent dwellers.

2) The Iforas Tuareg just mentioned use T-shaped posts both in black tents

dominating an extensive area of North Africa and particularly in Cyrenaica, Tripolitania, and adjacent regions before the Arab invasion of the 11th century A.D. This theory was set forth already by Ibn Khaldoun, who says that *Houara* has changed into *Haggar* (Ibn Khaldoun I, p. 275f.). Nicolas has stated as his opinion that this theory has no other foundation but mere speculation (Nicolas 1953, p. 14). This, however, is not correct as the relationship between the words can be explained on linguistic grounds as claimed by Foucauld. For the letter *ou* when redoubled will as a rule change into *gg*, and *ou* very frequently permutes with *g* (Foucauld 1951-52, II, p. 533). 565
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The term used in Air for vassal Tuareg is *Imrad* (sing. *Amrid*), a word which seems to be known to all Tuareg. Foucauld gives no particular explanation of its meaning (Foucauld 1951-52, III, p. 1933f.). Nicolas claims the word related to *eyrid*, literally meaning "a kid" (Nicolas 1950a, p. 189). If this explanation given by Nicolas is correct, *Imrad* refers to goat-breeding. So does another term for vassals used more frequently among the Northern Tuareg and the Ioullemmeden, namely *Kel Oulli* (sing. *Agg Oulli*), which means literally "the goat people". In Air this word is never used as a term for the vassal class, but only as a proper name for one particular vassal clan attached to the Ikaskazan. [114]

One of the terms for vassals and maybe both terms are thus connected with goat-breeding, while one of the terms for noble Tuareg seems to refer to raiding, which among the Tuareg was intimately connected with camel-breeding. Camels were not only the means by which raiding was carried out, but they were also the main object of raiding expeditions as they could be abducted very quickly from foreign camps. So we may perhaps see from some of the terms used for vassal and noble Tuareg that the two classes originated from the meeting of two distinct cultures, a goat-breeding and a camel-breeding culture. And we have already seen that in the past the noble Tuareg of Ahaggar were in particular camel-breeders, the vassals breeders of goats and donkeys. [174]

The Ahaggar Tuareg - in contrast to the Tuareg of Air - have traditions about the origin of the class system. References to these traditions are common in literature (Benhazera 1908, p. 89ff. - Reygasse 1950, p. 88. - Foucauld 1951 - 52, II, p. 533ff. - Lhote 1955, p. 213ff. - Nicolaisen 1954, p. 99f.). There are in fact two conflicting traditions, but some Tuareg will nevertheless acknowledge both. It seems, however, as if one tradition had its origin among the nobility, the other among vassals. The tradition which originated in the noble class says that the dominant noble clans of Ahaggar had a woman named Ti-n-Hinan as their ancestress. She immigrated to Ahaggar from Tafilelt in Morocco together with her servant girl named Takama, who became the ancestress of the oldest vassal clans (the Dag Rali and the Ait Loaien). The two women were both Islamic and belonged to the Beraber tribes. They found the country uninhabited except for the higher parts of the massif, where a pagan people named the Isebeten lived. This tradition [233]

171 and in skin tents, and according to my investigations this is, or was, also the case of
342 the Arab pastoral tribe Ouled Ba Hamou in Tidikelt.

3) In Northern Africa T-shaped posts are frequently found in permanent dwellings, but they are then solidly embedded in the ground, whereas in Tuareg skin tents and also in black tents they stand on the surface.

4) The use of skin for tents or other movable dwellings is no doubt of very great age (cf. Feilberg 1944, p. 144), while the T-shaped posts can be considered as belonging to a highly developed tent construction. To my mind there is a certain contrast in this, the more so as the posts or poles of other Tuareg skin tents are fixed in the ground.

5) Arab pastoralists now living in Tuareg countries frequently use Tuareg mat-covered huts and skin tents. Of particular interest is the type of skin tent used by the Deremchaka Arabs living among the Eastern Ioullemmeden (the Kel Dinnik). To support the sheet of skin sewn together these Arabs use a very short crossbar resting on the tops of two oblique poles (Nicolas 1950a, p. 154). A similar or related construction is found in black tents of the Brakna Arabs (Caillie 1830, I, p. 130), and is common in black tents of Algeria including the northern parts of Algerian Sahara (cf. Feilberg 1944, p. 46ff.). And according to tradition the Deremchaka Arabs immigrated from these regions (Nicolas 1950a, p. 67ff.). There seems to be little doubt that the Deremchaka Arabs have adopted a mode of construction typical of certain black tents to the Tuareg skin tent, and there may perhaps be another example of this among the Southern Tuareg:—The Tuareg known as Kel Antassar in the region of Timbuktu frequently use a very short crossbar resting on the tops of two central oblique posts to support their skin tents (Lhote 1947, p. 39, 101, 117). The Kel Antassar Tuareg are of religious status; [174] their presumed Arab origin (cf. Delafosse 1912, I, p. 195. — Mohammed Said 1903, p. 210ff. — Richer 1924, p. 14) gives rise to the supposition that they formerly had black tents.

I think these five arguments support the theory that T-shaped posts are foreign to Tuareg skin tents while customary for black tents in use among certain Arabs of Eastern Algeria, Tunis, Tripolitania, and Eastern Libya (cf. Laoust 1930, p. 209ff. — Feilberg 1944, p. 46ff., 146).

171 I shall now turn to the other theory to be tested, namely that there is a certain
233 relation between the camel and the black tent. This theory is not easy to prove.
342 The statement that camels and black tents have approximately the same distributions is far from convincing even if we keep to their westernmost areas. In Northern Africa camel-breeders over large areas use other types of dwelling, and black tents are very common among settled and semi-nomadic people of the Atlas, where there are no camels. The distribution of the black tent in Africa (cf. Feilberg 1944, map. II) comes indeed very close to the distribution of Arabic-speaking people, with the main exception that black tents in the Atlas and elsewhere in the north are also used by Berbers. Laoust has proved that some of these northern
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Berbers and particularly those of Central Morocco use for their black tents and for important parts of their tents terms derived from Arabic (Laoust 1930, p. 168f., 227f.). 171
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We cannot disregard the possibility that black tents were known in Northern Africa before the first Arab invasion. But there can be little doubt that outside of the Atlas black tents are characteristic of Arabic-speaking people, and we seem to be on safe ground if we state that the Arabs are responsible for the present fairly large distribution of black tents in the desert regions between the Red Sea and the Atlantic. And the black tent may have been unknown to the Berbers before the Arab invasion. In connection with this I wish to quote the very eminent scholar Stéphane Gsell who states his opinion on the age of the black tent in Northern Africa as follows:—"Cependant elle s'est répandue tardivement chez les Berbères. Ce fut surtout après la conquête musulmane qu'ils l'adoptèrent, à l'exemple de leurs nouveaux maîtres: au VIII^e siècle, un grand nombre d'entre eux avaient des tentes, semblables à celles des Arabes" (Gsell 1920-28, V, p. 216. - cf. El Bekri p. 139). [174]

In discussing the theory of a connection between camels and black tents, our next task is concerned with the history of the camel. For although camels and black tents have different distributions they may nevertheless be historically connected and introduced together. 171
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Much has already been written on the history of the camel. René Basset's theory that the camel was introduced by Arabs of the first invasion (Basset 1905) is contrary to all historical information. For we know with certainty that the camel was known to the Berbers before the Arabs arrived, though it does not seem to be of very great age, contrary to Cauvet's statement (Cauvet 1925-26). Already Barth suggested that the camel came to North-Western Africa about the beginning of the Christian era (Barth 1849, I, p. 3ff.), and this theory seems to be valid (cf. Gautier 1942, p. 190ff. - Walz 1951). 114
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Gautier claims that there is a certain connection between the introduction of the camel and the immigration to North-Western Africa of Berber tribes known as the Zenata, who lived in the northern steppes and desert regions from Tripolitania to Western Algeria. According to Ibn Khaldoun quoted by Gautier the Zenata had many traits in common with the Arabs: they lived in tents, they were camel-breeders, and they rode on horseback (Gautier 1942, p. 217 ff., 227. - cf. Ibn Khaldoun III, p. 179). The theory that the camel was introduced by the Zenata is accepted by Feilberg, who thinks that these people may have introduced the black tent together with the camel (Feilberg 1944, p. 119f., 226).

A connection between the Zenata and the camel is extremely difficult to prove. Gautier's theories on North African history are frequently very hazardous and very contradictory. Thus in his book *Le Passé de l'Afrique du Nord* we find the following statements about the introduction of the camel:— 1) "A tant de bienfaits Rome en a ajouté un dernier: elle a introduit le chameau, permettant ainsi la mise en

114 valeur d'immenses territoires inutilisés" (Gautier 1942, p. 209f.). 2) "Il est donc
174 légitime d'associer le nom des Zenata à la grande révolution politique et sociale
233 qu'a entraînée au Maghreb l'apparition du chameau. Zénète et chameau appa-
raissent en même temps, et tout se passe comme s'ils apparaissaient l'un portant
l'autre" (Gautier 1942, p. 227). 3) "En effet, quoique Ibn Khaldoun et d'ailleurs
tous les historiens arabes nous signalent les Zenata dès le début de la conquête arabe,
il semble qu'au VII^e siècle les Zenata n'aient pas été encore, aussi exclusivement
que plus tard, les représentants du grand nomadisme" (Gautier 1942, p. 227).

Gautier says about the Tuareg: "Ces gens-là sont de grands nomades chame-
liers; dans nulle autre tribu ce caractère n'est aussi marqué et c'est cela même qui
fait leur originalité" (Gautier 1942, p. 240). Most Arab historians confirm that the

175 Tuareg are in particular camel-breeders, and the Tuareg do not belong to the
101 Zenata group. According to Ibn Khaldoun the Berbers fall into two great divisions:

233 1) The *Bab* descending from *Madghis-Ibn-Berr*, and comprising the Zenata group
and several other tribes. 2) The *Beranes* descending from *Bernes-Ibn-Berr*. Several
Berber tribes and among them most Tuareg belong to this division (Ibn Khaldoun I,
p. 168 ff.).

175 It is interesting that Tuareg camels are frequently referred to in Arab literature
233 as being of a particular light and slender breed extremely well fitted for riding
(Ibn Khaldoun II, p. 70, 105. - Edrisi p. 11, 67f.; 144f. - Leo Africanus p. 940f.).

171 To-day there is a marked distinction between the camels of the north found mainly
233 among Arabs, and the camels of the south among the Tuareg. The Arab camel is
heavily built and particularly fitted for luggage, and the Tuareg say it is also
superior as a milk-producer. It has a thick covering of wool around the hump and
on the forepart of the body. The southern camel as found among the Tuareg is very
different. It has a slender built, short hair, and is particularly fitted for riding as
mentioned by the ancient Arab authors. These two different camel-breeds ap-
parently exist all over Northern Africa from the Red Sea to the Atlantic, and the
heavy and woolly type seems to be characteristic of Arabs (cf. Nachtigal 1879, I,
p. 415f. - Murray 1935, p. 92 ff. - Cauvet 1925-26, I, p. 79 ff.), who are also the
true black-vent dwellers. It is possible that the Arabs have introduced the black

[177] tent into Northern Africa together with a particular breed of camel, while another
[342] breed was introduced before the Arabs.

The cultural position of camel-breeding has never been thoroughly studied. As
I have pointed out elsewhere (Nicolaisen 1959a), it is peculiar that so many
customs connected with camels are also typical of cow-breeding of the East African
cattle complex (cf. Baumann 1940. - Herskovits 1926. - Kroll 1928). The common

[162] traits seem to be the following:— 1) All work connected with camels and oxen is
[825] done by men. 2) Camels and oxen have important social functions and their
[538] breeders take an interest in these animals beyond their practical importance. Both
camels and oxen play an important part in poetry, which is frequently character-
ized by a tendency towards identification between man and beast (cf. Evans
Pritchard 1940. - Foucauld 1925-30, I-11).

Pritchard 1940. - Foucauld 1925-30, I-II). 3) As mentioned (p. 113) camel's milk is not well fitted for churning butter, but it can be used as is the case among certain Arab bedouins of the Northern Sahara and according to my investigations possibly also among the Kel Ajjer who live close to Arab pastoralists, and among the Moors (Monteil 1952, p. 73). In most Tuareg groups camel's milk is only occasionally used for butter which is not eaten but employed as a hair ointment. Among some East African cattle breeders butter is also churned for this very purpose. 4) All Tuareg and perhaps all Arab camel-breeders use the stuffed skin of a deceased camel-calf to deceive the mother animal during milking - for camels like cows will not generally yield milk unless their calves are present. This custom is widely distributed among cattle-breeders of the Old World. 5) Camel's urine is considered curative and purifying, although it is not used for cleaning milk bowls or added to milk or butter as among certain East African cattle-breeders. 6) The custom of bleeding living camels to utilize their blood is practised by Tuareg when lost in the desert without water and food. This very custom is also practised by the Tebu and by Arab pastoralists of Arabia. Among the latter camel's blood is apparently used frequently in periods of hunger (Cauvet 1925, I, p. 701. - Finbert 1938, p. 39). This custom may have been more common among camel-breeders previous to Islam which forbids the use of blood. 7) Tuareg camel-calves which are very eager for milk and difficult to wean may be cut in two or three places on the bridge of the nose; the wounds will hurt when the calves try to suckle. On adult animals scars from these wounds will appear as small bumps. They are believed to add to the beauty of riding camels and are nowadays made predominantly for aesthetic reasons. As a means to prevent suckling the same method is also applied to oxen by southern Tuareg, and Mr. Huntingford has informed me that Nilo-Hamites of East-Africa have the same custom. 8) In the south camels are not always branded with a red-hot iron as among the Northern Tuareg and the Arabs. Most Kel Ferouan clans use earmarks cut with a knife, and this is the case of other Air Tuareg, e.g. the Kel Fadei, some of the Ikaskazan, and the Ifadeyen. Earmarks are possibly also used by some of the Moors of the Western Sahara, who still use certain Berber words in connection with camel-breeding (Monteil 1952, p. 103).

Tuareg camel-breeding has traits in common with cow-breeding, and they may be due to historical relations between breeding of camels and cows. The domestication of the camel may have taken place in a pastoral culture similar of the East African cattle complex. In that case the type of dwelling characteristic of camel-breeding may have been a barrel-vaulted hut or tent. Pastoral cow-breeders of Africa and Asia generally use this type of dwelling, and huts or tents of arch construction are extremely common among the Tuareg. Mat-covered arched huts like those of Air are known also to the Kel Geres, some of the Eastern Ioullemmeden, and to other Tuareg further west in Southern Tuareg country - in particular those living close to the Niger (Lhote 1947, p. 71, 79. - Nicolas 1938, p. 62; 1950a, p. 156f. - Barth 1857-58, I, p. 372f., 397f., V, p. 201. - Delafosse 1912, I, p. 334. -



Fig. 12.—Tuareg skin tent in a river valley of the Ahaggar Mountains. The sheet of skin sewn together is placed over three parallel pairs of posts each pair being connected with a horizontal crossbar. The middle pair is higher than the outer pairs. It may be substituted with two equally high pairs of posts with crossbars, or with two arches. Tuareg skin tents have mats to be drawn round the tent under the sheet of skin, and in winter the Ahaggar Tuareg frequently erect stone walls for protection against cold winds, as shown on this photograph.

184 Hourst 1898, p.105ff., 133. — Gabus 1945, p. 361. — Chudeau 1909, pl. XXXII—
342 XXXIII p. 218. — Le Coeur 1937, p. 42f. — Urvoy 1942, p. 33f., pl. 1).

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342 Mat-covered arched huts or tents are found only among the Southern Tuareg, and as such dwellings are found among many of their Sudanese neighbours it might seem natural to consider them foreign to traditional Tuareg culture. However, the arched mat-covered tent of the Tuareg seems to be constructionally distinct from other barrel-vaulted dwellings. It consists of one to three wooden arches placed parallel to and between a pair of two or three short sticks supporting a horizontal crossbar. A number of very slender curved sticks cover the upper part of this construction. They are fastened to the arches and to the horizontal crossbars (cf. fig. 13). An arched hut of the same type, although more elaborate and solid, is found in certain Kel Owi villages (fig. 13) as already mentioned p. 77, while the use of crossbars is apparently unknown to other peoples who have barrel-vaulted huts (*The Sonrai*: — Barth 1857-58, V, p. 160, 163, 165f. — Dubois 1897, p. 232f.; 1911, p. 33. — Gabus 1948, p. 10. — Olufsen 1928, p. 137. — Prost 1954, p. 184ff. — Urvoy 1942, pl. II, 3. — Aymard 1911, p. 144 pl. 25; 1908, p. 183. — *The Fulani and*

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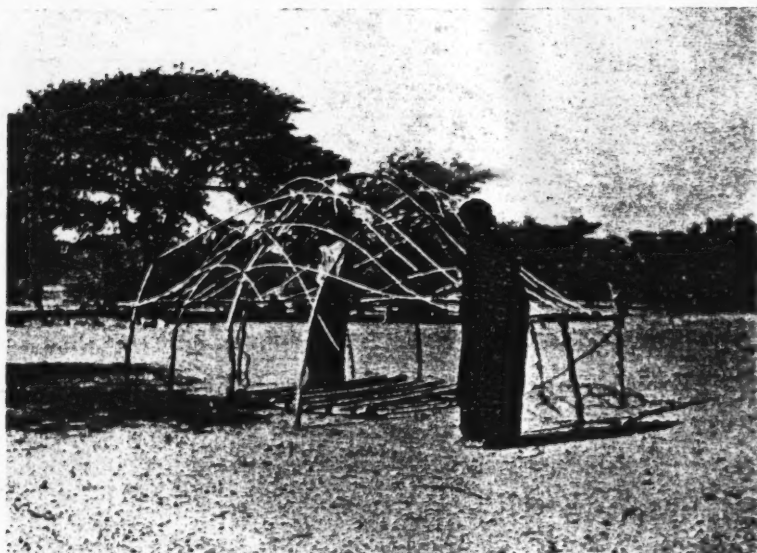


Fig. 13.-Tuareg women of Air erecting the skeleton of a mat-covered arched tent. It consists of three wooden arches placed parallel to and between a pair of three short sticks supporting a horizontal crossbar. Curved sticks cover the upper part of this construction. They are fastened to the arches and at their ends to the horizontal crossbars. Tuareg skin tents with the exception of those provided with T-shaped posts have possibly developed from similar constructions. - The erection of tents among the Tuareg is done by women.

171 the *Toucouleurs*: Urvoy 1952, pl. II, 4. - Desplagnes 1907, pl. CVI p. 396. - *The*
342 *Teda or Tebu*: - Le Coeur 1937, p. 39; 1950, p. 192, pl. XXVI, 99. - Despois 1946,
pl. XXII. - Kronenberg 1959, pl. III).

342 Tuareg arched tents may also be covered with skin as they are among the
Tenguerguif Tuareg around Timbuktu. These Tuareg have a very peculiar arch
construction which also contains crossbars resting on sticks (Lhote 1947, p. 100,
photographs 85-93). In Ahagggar arched tents were formerly extremely common, and
may occasionally be seen even nowadays. Their construction consists of two arches
which may be placed between and parallel to a pair of crossbars each resting on
the tops of two sticks (Foucauld 1951-52, I, p. 247. - Benhazera 1908, p. 26. -
Lhote 1947, p. 42f.; 1955, p. 256. - Nicolaisen 1954, p. 89, 103f.). In Ahagggar I
[565] have been told that arched skin tents were formerly used by all vassals, who did
not have T-shaped posts to support their tents. But arched tents were also used
by some noble Tuareg. The mat-covered arched tents among certain Iouillemeden
Tuareg are apparently used particularly by vassals (Barth 1857-58, I, p. 372f. -
Gabus 1948, p. 361), but they are also in frequent use among noble Tuareg. In Air
the most common type of dwelling to all Tuareg whatever their social class is the



Fig. 14—The skeleton of an arched mat-covered hut constructionally related to that shown fig. 13 but more elaborately and solidly built. The arches are made from lashed bundles of very slender sticks fastened to short poles embedded in the ground as is the heavy central post supporting the whole construction. — This type of hut is used among settled agriculturists of the Air villages, and is due to influence from pastoral Tuareg.

arched mat-covered tent, and the noble Kel Ferouan claim that they have never used any other type. The Western Ioullemmeden (Kel Ataram) use a skin tent consisting of three or four parallel pairs of posts each pair being connected with a horizontal crossbar (Lhote 1947, p. 85f., photographs 59-64). Gabus claims this dwelling as typical of the noble Tuareg (Gabus 1945, p. 15). I think that most probably it developed from a dwelling constructionally related to the arched mat-covered tent like that of Air. The common type of skin tent nowadays used in Ahaggar and Adrar-n-Iforas is of a somewhat related type (Lhote 1947, p. 42f., photographs 7-8, 11-13, 20-21.; 1955, p. 254ff. — Foley 1930, p. 12f., pl. IV, 6-7. — Briggs 1958, p. 92, fig. 36. — Nicolaisen 1954, p. 103). It is apparently not possible to refer Tuareg arched tents exclusively to vassals, and it should be noted that in Tassili-n-Ajjer the dwelling typical of the vassal class is a straw hut constructionally related to a round house with conical roof (Barth 1857-58, I, p. 257. — Nicolaisen 1954, p. 89, 104).

Finally I shall now return to our main problem, namely the history of Tuareg political systems. We have explained their origin from the meeting of two distinct cultures, and we have seen that in the past the noble class was connected with

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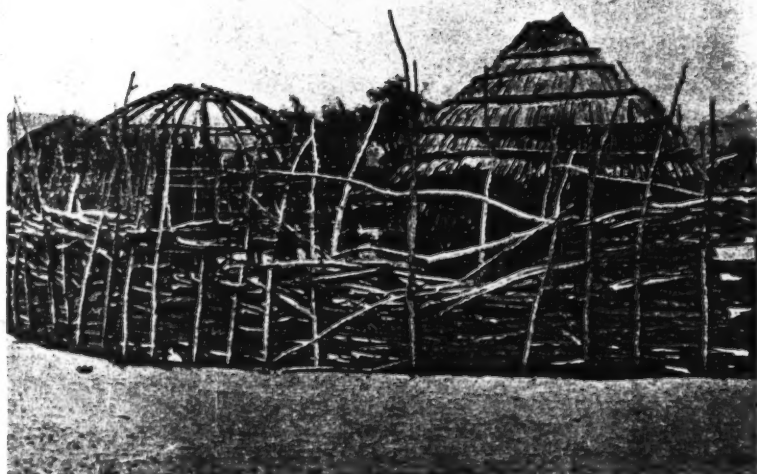


Fig. 15.—Beehive huts within a round enclosure at the village of Ifrouan in Northern Air. The construction seen on this photograph consists of arches made from lashed bundles of slender sticks fastened to poles embedded in the ground. Horizontal sticks are fastened to the arches which are supported by a central forked post with a short crossbar placed on its top. For a detailed description of this construction see Foureau 1905, III, p. 885 f. Beehive huts in Air are also made from boughs embedded in the ground and tied together at the top without a central post.

174 camel-breeding. The camel is known to have been very common in Tripolitania
233 in the 4th century A.D. It was introduced to this region a few centuries before that
time, and it was known in Egypt about the year 500 B.C. It is therefore probable
that the camel was introduced into the Central Sahara even prior to the first Arab
invasion of the 7th century. Camel-breeding seems to have certain traits in common
with pastoral cow-breeding, and the oldest camel-breeders of Northern Africa may
have lived in tents or huts of arch construction — most possibly in so-called barrel-
vaulted dwellings, which appear to have been extremely common in Northern
Africa throughout Antiquity (cf. Le Coeur 1937. — Feilberg 1944, p. 202f.).

174 The T-shaped posts of Tuareg skin tents are apparently historically related to
[342] similar posts of Arab black tents in Eastern Algeria, Tunis, Tripolitania, and
[565] Eastern Libya. Considering the fact that T-shaped posts among the Northern
[184] Tuareg are claimed to be characteristic of the noble class, there may be a certain
[192] connection between noble Tuareg of the North and Arabs. I have mentioned above
that in the North the term for noble Tuareg (*Ihaggaren*, sing. *Ahaggar*) is different
from the term used in other Tuareg groups (*Imachejen*, sing. *Amachej*). I have also

174 mentioned that the word *Ihaggarm* (*Ahaggur*) is perhaps derived from *Hooouara*,
 [192] which was a common term for certain Berber tribes particularly living in Tripoli-
 tania in the Middle Ages. According to Edrisi the Hooouara Berbers were originally
 [114] Arabs who adopted Berber language (Edrisi p. 66ff.). This is not proved by Ibn
 Khaldoun's important work on the history of the Berbers. But Ibn Khaldoun
 states that the Hooouara came under Arab influence at a very early date, and some
 of the pastoral Hooouara people apparently migrated southwards to the desert at a
 later date than the Lemta (Ibn Khaldoun I, p. 275ff.).

I think that the ancestors of the noble Tuareg introduced the camel into the
 Sahara. I think too that this may have happened before the first Arab invasion of
 the 7th century. But some of the dominating noble Tuareg have emigrated from
 Tripolitania after the Arabs have arrived. And it is probable that the political
 systems of the Tuareg already very early were influenced by the Arabs among
 whom a class system is found even nowadays as described from Cyrenaica by
 Evans-Pritchard. In that region there are client tribes known as *Marabtin alsagan*
 171 because they pay *sadaqa*, a fee, to a free tribe for protection and for the pri-
 565 vilege of using the earth and water. Some fragments of client tribes even to-day
 have a very inferior social position and are forced to make payments to, and to
 perform services for, the free tribes among whom they live (Evans-Pritchard 1949,
 p. 33).

The word *sadaqa*, a fee, is known to the Tuareg, and there are other Arabic
 171 words connected with their political systems. Here I shall content myself with
 192 reference to the word *khalifa* used among the Northern Tuareg for the deputies of
 a chief, and the very important word *esfel* meaning "drum", "drum-group", and
 in Air also "drum-chief". Ultimately the history of Tuareg political systems should
 174 probably be viewed in connection with those of Arabs.
 10)

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JOHANNES NICOLAISEN,
University of Copenhagen,
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